Equites. R. p 71 sqq.

Romulus levied 100 cavalry in ea. of the 3 tribes
This no. was doubled by Tullus Hostilius – 600. 3 cent. of 200.
" " " again " " Tarquinius Priscus 1200: 6 cent. of 200.
12 centuries added by Servius. There were then 18 centuries
of 200 men each.

The Equites from the first were chosen from the wealthiest citizens: census equester was probably at least 125,000 asses.

Each of the equites of the 18 centuries received from the state 10,000 asses or aes equestre: hence the phrase equo publico merere; E. p. assignare. also an annual sum of 2000 asses or aes hordearium

---

These were the only body of cavalry down to 403 B.C. when a no. of persons possessed of eq. fortune, but who had not been chosen into the 18 centuries offered service without receiving a horse or money for its maintenance. These equites equo privato recd. larger pay than the infantry, served 10 years only, received neither aes equestre nor hordearium & were not admitted into the 18 centuriae.

Clarendon Press Series

LIVY

BOOKS V, VI, VII

CLUER AND MATHESON

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LIVY

BOOKS V, VI, AND VII

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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BALLIOL COLLEGE

New Edition, Revised by

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PART I.—INTRODUCTION AND TEXT

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INTRODUCTION.

THE events narrated in the three Books comprised in this edition fall within the dates 403 B.C. to 342 B.C. (A.U.C. 351 to 413). For a summary of them Mommsen, *History of Rome*, book ii. chapters 3, 4, and 5 may be consulted. Much that is legendary is interwoven with the narrative as presented by Livy. Even when dealing with events of a later date and of comparatively greater importance (e.g. the campaigns of Hannibal), the historian of Rome has been shown to have been more than once wanting in accuracy, even if not inclined to a remissness which one might reasonably expect to be avoided. But criticisms, more or less sweeping and dogmatic, may be found in the works of those able writers who have enriched the literature of the present century with their researches into the truthfulness of Roman history. It is not our intention to repeat them here. Only it may be remarked, in justice to Livy, that he was himself fully aware of the legendary and poetical nature of many of the tales which he had to record, and which had become part of the cherished traditions of his countrymen. He had set himself the task of compiling the records of the Roman people from the earliest times; and the writers of the Augustan period had no tendency to deal with the past in a critical or sceptical spirit. The rules of historical criticism are of modern growth, and are perhaps scarcely yet finally settled; therefore allowance can fairly be made for a writer who, in presence of the world-wide majesty of the nation to which he belonged, declined to startle his readers by refuting or even seriously questioning those facts which threw a glamour over the history of their ancestors, and to whose judgment poetical justice rather than dispassionate investigation seemed best adapted to the traditional records of bygone days.

The chief events included in these books are the siege and capture of Veii by the Romans, and the subsequent capture of Rome by the Gauls: the rise of the city from its ruins, and the conflicts in which it was engaged against the waning power of the Etruscan nation, more than once having again to encounter the forces of the Celts who had inflicted so crushing a defeat on the power of Rome: and the beginning of the war known as the Samnite War. Internally there belongs to this period that portion of the struggle of the Orders, of the Plebs against the Patricians, which Mommsen terms 'the equalization of the orders and the new aristocracy.' The Licinio-Sextian laws which established the absolute right of the plebeians to one of the consulships, the appointment of plebeian Masters of the Horse, and even a plebeian Dictator, broke down the long-standing political distinctions and did away with the class privileges which had long made the patricians as such the dominating power in Rome. The success of Licinius and his colleagues was due to the fact that the leading plebeians (who practically had as little sympathy as the patricians with the special burdens of the proletariate) took advantage of the public indignation against usury and the exactions of the capitalist class to force their way to the highest offices of state. It is remarkable that the Licinian laws were finally carried *en masse*, the bulk of the plebs being indifferent to the political claims of their leaders, provided some genuine relief against the burden of debt were devised for themselves. But the leading plebeians were not eager merely to remove the grievances of their poorer fellow-citizens. To quote the words of Licinius as recorded by Dio Cassius, 'If the people would not eat, they should not drink either;' and in the end, the aims of the compromise were achieved. The first law was directed to a settlement of the question of debt; the interest already paid by debtors was to be deducted from the capital, and the remainder of the debt to be paid within three years in equal instalments. The second (which is not classed as agrarian by Livy) provided that no one should hold as *possessor* more than 500 jugera of public land;

the theory and practice still being that the state owned the *publicus ager*, and granted it to occupiers, retaining, as we should say, the freehold in itself. The third directed the abolition of the office of military tribunes with consular power, and expressly enacted that of the two consuls one must always be a plebeian. The first caught the votes of the humblest classes: the second was a bait for the more well-to-do and the farmers: the third betrayed the real reason of the attitude of these champions of the plebs.

It is impossible with the scanty materials which we possess to judge accurately of the justice or injustice of the proposals with reference to usury. So far as we can see, the laws of Rome gave an enormous power to the money-lenders—a law of the XII Tables even allowed the creditors to divide among themselves the body of an insolvent debtor; and though a law so atrocious must have virtually defeated itself, its very presence among the statutes of the Romans shows that it was an enactment made by the rich for themselves, and that the debtor was practically at the mercy of a relentless creditor. Even in more enlightened times, when statesmen have attempted to legislate for a financial crisis, the remedies proposed usually betray a strange amount of inability on the part of those who wish to cope with a difficulty which they either do not understand or which they are compelled to meet in such a manner as will satisfy the clamour of ignorance and interested prejudice. The grievance of debt had in earlier days brought about the first secession of the plebs; and even if the measures brought forward by Licinius failed to remove the causes which underlay the financial troubles of Rome, they at least alleviated the distress for a considerable time, while they simultaneously served as a lever to raise the plebs to political equality with the patricians, and to remove the most long-standing source of conflict and dissension between the orders.

Viewed thus, with regard to the internal and constitutional development of the nation, these three books constitute one of the most important chapters of Roman history. The success

of the plebs was indeed a bitter draught for the privileged classes: but it was none the less wholesome and necessary. When on one or two occasions the patricians by an electioneering trick violated the law and chose two of their own body to fill the consulship, the plebs retaliated soon after by electing two plebeians; and this proof of their strength and determination prevented any similar attempt by the patriciate in the future. The mass of the people, as is usual in times when men's feelings are deeply stirred by some question of political reform, were probably disappointed. The conditions of daily life, the supplies of daily necessaries, were not made any easier or more plentiful by the overthrow of privilege. But the enthusiasm and resolute perseverance which had been called into play in order to break down so anomalous an inequality were not without their fruits. Rome, once started in the career of conquest by Camillus, was enabled to present a united front to her enemies during the two centuries of wars which with slight interruptions fill the pages of her history until the final defeat and demolition of Carthage. The old quarrel was at an end. The fusion of classes had a permanent and lasting influence on the destinies of the imperial city. Later on, the scene changed, and the struggle entered upon a worse and more dangerous phase, when social rather than political wrongs brought about a revolution of a far more sweeping kind, and one which was only to be determined, after long years of civil war, by the establishment of a military despotism.

Livy himself anticipates that his readers would be more anxious to peruse that portion of his history which treated of the later days of the Republic. That portion no longer exists for us; but, if we may judge from what remains of his work, this great master of style could hardly have exceeded the power which he displays in dealing with the earlier periods. It is true that some of his finest passages (e.g. the timely intervention of Camillus at the moment when the Romans were bargaining for gold with their barbaric conquerors) are records of

legends invented by a later age to conceal, if possible, that which was felt to disgrace the Empress of the world. Yet there is a grandeur of language at the very outset of that memorable invasion of the Gauls, and a sustained vigour during the whole of the narrative, which cannot fail to impress and rivet the reader's attention. Livy has at once the defects and the merits of a poet; he does not care much to sift truth from legend, but skilfully blends the two together in such a manner as to form an admirable and striking picture, while the very ease with which he painted it has made the figures stand out life-like and prominent for centuries of readers. Equally admirable, though in a different style, is the history of the Licinian rogations; the jealousy of the Fabian sisters, the self-possessed superiority of the one contrasting with the ill-concealed vexation and inexperience of the other; the prompt action of the tribune, the husband of the younger Fabia, his terse pointed language, and his steady perseverance for eleven years are skilfully put in the foreground; even the perplexity which the historian shows in dealing with the refusal of the tribunes to submit to the dictator who had been appointed for the express purpose of overawing them evinces his wonderful capacity for producing effect, and the whole scene passes before one's eyes as a series of striking tableaux, which in his judgment would have been spoilt by a more prosaic treatment. The subordinate parts also are not less clearly treated; indeed few writers could have given such interest to the endless tales of petty wars which he had to recount, each a repetition of its predecessor, yet sufficiently varied to escape at least from the censure of monotony and dulness. As minor points of ingenuity in composition may be noted the tale of the seizure of the Veientine prophet by the powerful Roman soldier, where the very complexity of the sentence seems to illustrate the subtle combination and cunning of the device; the ignominious return of the schoolmaster at Falerii, scourged by his own pupils whom he had intended to betray to the enemy; the attitude of the people of Tarquinii, transacting all the business of everyday life while

the enemy had actually entered the open gates of their town; and the well-timed generosity of M. Manlius, answered by the impetuous gratitude of the centurion whom he liberated, so graphically characteristic of the easily-roused Italian character. More particularly too may be noticed the apt language, the words and phrases with which Livy contrives to present so clearly the feelings of a class or an individual. Of the speeches recorded by him, all have this trait peculiarly distinct and appropriate; and betray at once the composition of the man of letters and his ready ability to seize the attitude of the speaker and the words which express that attitude most vividly. The most elaborate of all—the address by which the people of Capua sought to win alliance with the Romans—if not exactly modelled on the speech of the Corcyraean envoys in the first book of Thucydides, strongly reminds the reader of it, and in its argument, urging the question of expediency as against formal rights, certainly goes over the same ground. But similarity of circumstances, possibly coupled with an unconscious recollection of that which might have served as a model, will sufficiently account for the resemblance: for Livy was not a writer who was in need of the dangerous assistance supplied by plagiarism. It would occupy too much space to quote instances of this aptness of language in detail; but a careful attention to it will amply repay any reader, who tries for himself to turn Livy's phrases by the English which is really suited to them. The speech of Appius Claudius towards the end of the sixth book may be referred to as one of the most admirable instances of his power, expressing as it certainly does a great deal of the author's own feeling towards the chief disturbing element of these early times, the irrepressible tribune of the plebs, skilfully put into the mouth of a Claudius, the type of aristocratic resistance to these plebeian agitators. Sympathy with men who sought to upset or reform the existing order of things is not to be expected from the great writers of the Augustan age. Literature was flourishing under the patronage of the court; and what it gained in grace and elegance was balanced by

what it could not fail to lose in independence and honesty of judgment. Thus, whether from personal bias or from imperial influence, the historian of Rome cannot be called an impartial writer. He has his prejudices, as all men have ; and yet, from his narrative of events, although a hasty perusal may be misleading, the truth can be still sifted by careful criticism, and the real connexion of cause and effect, with the general tendencies of the various movements, observed.

The notes were at first written without reference to other authorities or commentators; additions were afterwards made, chiefly from Weissenborn's well-known edition (4th ed.) and, it is believed, have been in most cases acknowledged. It is hoped that the work bestowed on these three books may prove a help to the student towards the mastering of difficulties and also induce him to follow out for himself the chief aim of the editor—to present the Latin language in a thoroughly English form and to give some life and reality to a study which too often becomes dull and insipid from carelessness and want of sympathy. The Excursus (pp. 15–29) does not pretend to be at all complete, but may serve as a clue to Livy's style and use of language. (For fuller treatment of the subject see Kühnast, *Die Hauptpunkte der Livianischen Syntax.*) The Index too is intended as a guide rather to the language than the subject-matter of these books. For reference to the history the Analyses at the head of each chapter will, it is hoped, be sufficient. The Map of Central Italy and the Note on the Army are added in the hope of enlivening the military aspect of Livy's narrative.

The text, by the kind permission of Professor Madvig, is taken from his second edition (1875). It may be well to add that words in *italics* have been supplied to the text ; words included in brackets [ ] are considered doubtful or unnecessary ; and an obelisk (†) shows that the passage is corrupt.

EXCURSUS

On some points in the language and style of Livy as shown in Books V–VII.

The strength and weakness of Livy as a writer may be said to lie in his rhetorical power. Sometimes perhaps the art is ill-concealed, and the language overstrained, but on the whole the impression produced is that of a writer with a wonderful gift for turning to account the resources of his language. The great characteristic of his style is its versatility, both of feeling and of expression. Instances might be given in plenty from these books of the wide range of his expression, from simple or pathetic narrative to the strongest indignation and the most scathing irony. A few passages are here quoted, in addition to those referred to above (pp. 11, 12).

Irony.

5. 6. 17. quoniam ea demum Romae libertas est, non senatum, non magistratus, non leges, non morem maiorum, non instituta patrum, non disciplinam vereri militiae.

7. 40. 11. Inducite in animum, quod non induxerunt patres avique vestri, &c.

6. 41. 9. vulgo ergo pontifices, augures, sacrificuli reges creentur, &c.

Concise and Epigrammatic Description.

5. 37. 8. nata in vanos tumultus gens (the severe Roman's comment on the noisy Celt).

6. 34. 7. parvis mobili rebus animo muliebri.

7. 27. 7. (of the Volscians) ferocior ad rebellandum quam ad bellandum gens.

6. 16. 3. sed invicta sibi quaedam patientissima justi imperii gens fecerat (of the Roman habit of discipline).

7. 1. 9. fuit enim vere vir unicus in omni fortuna, &c. (a summary of the heroic life of Camillus).

Pathos.

5. 54. Camillus' speech, with its appeal to 'colles campique et Tiberis et assueta oculis regio et hoc caelum.'

Sometimes there is a pathetic reference to the Rome and Italy of Livy's own day.

7. 40. 2. Nondum erant tam fortes ad sanguinem civilem.

7. 29. 2. Quanta rerum moles! quoties in extrema periculorum ventum, ut in hanc magnitudinem, quae vix sustinetur, erigi imperium posset!

7. 25. 9. adeo in quae laboramus, sola crevimus, divitias luxuriamque.

6. 12. 5. locis, quae nunc, vix seminario exiguo militum relicto, servitia Romana ab solitudine vindicant.

Examining his language more in detail we may consider—

I. *The general arrangement and structure of his sentences.*

II. *Ornaments of style.*

III. *The use of particular forms and constructions.*

I. General Arrangement.

Here there is great variety; now long periods, now short sharp sentences: simple narrative, or passionate speech, with all the devices of rhetoric. It is difficult to tabulate characteristics, but we may attempt to bring together some of the means by which the life and variety of Livy's language are produced.

(1) Oratio obliqua is freely used, both in long speeches, and short, sometimes with rapid transition from simple narrative, e.g. 5. 24. 9, &c.

(2) The period is broken up and relieved by various devices:

a. By the use of *parallel clauses* quum . . . tum, 5. 40. 3.
ut . . . ita, 7. 5. 7.
ut . . . sic, 5. 38. 2.
non solum . . . ne quidem, 5. 42. 3.
tantum afuit ut . . . ut, 6. 31. 4.

b. Antithesis—

(i) of single words—

5. 6. 8. impetus . . . perseverantia.

5. 39. 5. privatos luctus . . . publicus pavor.

(ii) of clauses (often sharply opposed, without any conjunction or adverb)—

5. 4. 3. quibus aliquid novi adiectum commodi sit, eis laborem etiam novum pro portione iniungi.

5. 4. 11, 12. Decem quondam annos . . . piget.

6. 39. 10.

5. 6. 14.

(iii) By comparatives—

6. 10. 4. deditionis quam societatis fides sanctior.

6. 10. 9. magis tempus quam causam non visa belli habere.

c. *By arrangement of words in groups*, generally of three members, with or without a climax—

5. 6. 17. non senatum, non magistratus, non leges, non morem maiorum, non instituta patrum, non disciplinam vereri militiae.

5. 20. 3. deum immortalium benignitate, suis consiliis, patientia militum.

5. 27. 8. virtute, opere, armis.

5. 51. 7. num ante exorta est, quam spreta vox . . . quam gentium ius . . . quam, &c.

6. 3. 5. nullam stationem ante moenia, patentes portas, victorem vagum.

6. 6. 8. Ingens . . . magnum . . . maximum.

d. *By the use of 'quum,' with indicative*, introducing a critical event : or *of a 'ni' clause* to describe an interfering condition—

5. 7. 5. curam metumque iniecit . . . quum repente.

5. 36. 1. Mitis legatio, ni . . . habuisset.

(3) An idea is amplified by the addition of a synonym—

5. 11. 15. exsecratus detestatusque.

5. 38. 7. integri intactique.

7. 35. 6. videntem ac vigilantem.

6. 17. 4. ultima atque aeterna.

6. 29. 1. instructi intentique.

5. 2. 4. ne hiemi quidem aut tempori anni cedere.

5. 3. 8. dicto audiens atque obediens.

(4) **Emphasis is given by**—

a. The principle of *suspense* by which the relative or subordinate clause is put first, and the sentence is clinched by the apodosis, or main sentence at the end.

5. 11. 5. Quibus dilectus, quibus tributum . . . iis.

b. The use of a *demonstrative*, to prepare the way for an object clause.

6. 15. 3. id cogendi estis, ut in medium proferatis.
6. 23. 11. id precari . . . ne qui.

(5) **Asyndeton** helps to make the contrast between clauses sharp and telling, and to enliven the narrative. Livy uses very few connecting particles.

The same rapid effect is produced by—
the use of *non* for *neque*, 5. 6. 8.
and the use of the demonstrative instead of the relative in beginning a new sentence—
5. 32. 4. Eius belli fama,
and by the omission of verbs, e. g.—
5. 43. 2. nihil temere nec trepide.

(6) **Variety** is given by the combination of two parallel ideas in different forms—

5. 5. 1. molliter et per dilationes.
5. 8. 2. vacationibus . . . et . . . receptando.
5. 10. 10. Inter dilectum tributumque et occupatos animos maiorum rerum curis.

(7) **Sense-constructions** are frequent—

5. 41. 1. turba . . . regressi.
5. 40. 6. pars . . . dilapsi.
6. 3. 2. Sutrium, socios populi Romani.

II. Ornaments of Style.

Under the head of ornaments of style may be put the following—

(1) The use of **poetical language, and unusual words**, e. g.—fatalis, 5. 33. 1; 6. 28. 5; ingruente fato, 5. 32. 7; iuvenalis (first used in prose by Livy), 5. 22. 5; sata (=

crops), 6. 31. 8; cognominem, 5. 34. 9 (cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 383); terriculis, 5. 9. 7; prosecuisset (a solemn and technical word), 5. 21. 8; nivosa, 5. 13. 1; elanguit. 5. 26. 2; conficeret. 5. 50. 7; potissimus (used personally), 5. 12. 11; innavigabilis, 5. 13. 1; intercurrit (in a special sense), 5. 19. 4. Other words which suggest Virgilian usage are:—litare, iactare, numen, proturbare, fides (=proof), ferre, reses, iactura. (See Index.)

(2) **Rhetorical figures**, such as—

a. rhetorical questions—

5. 52. 7. quid de aeternis Vestae ignibus . . . loquor?
An argument often ends in an indignant question introduced by *an*—

5. 3. 4. an est quisquam, qui.

b. imaginary objections—

5. 52. 5. forsitan aliquis dicat.
often introduced by *at enim*, 5. 53. 1; 6. 15. 11. Sometimes an imaginary dialogue is given, with great vivacity, as in 6. 40 (speech of Appius).

(3) **Alliteration or repetition** often adds force, especially in angry or ironical passages—

5. 51. 10. foedus ac fidem fefellerunt.
6. 26. 3. hospitaliter . . . hostiliter.
6. 22. 7. vegetum ingenium in vivido pectore vigebat, virebatque integris sensibus.
7. 30. 20. annuite, patres conscripti, nutum numenque vestrum.
7. 38. 6. suo sudore ac sanguine inde Samnites.
7. 6. 11. potuisse patres plebiscito pelli.
7. 35. 3. virtute cepistis locum, virtute hinc oportet evadatis.
6. 31. 6. populatio . . . ab iusto exercitu iusta ira facta.

(4) **The use of simile and metaphor.** In this Livy does not differ much from other Latin writers[1]. The most striking of those used in these books are here brought together—

---

[1] Nägelsbach, *Lateinische Stilistik*, §§ 126–139.

(i) *Metaphors connected with water*—

of abundance—6. 15. 9. affluit.

of weakness — 7. 33. 14. fluere lassitudine; 29. 7. 5. fluentes luxu.

of diffusion—7. 38. 10—manaverantque a Capua consilia.

mergo is used metaphorically—6. 14. 7. mergentibus semper sortem usuris; cp. 6. 17. 2. mersam et obrutam fenore.

and haurio very frequently.

of exhaustion—7. 21. 8. exhausta.

of a wound—7. 10. 10. ventrem atque inguina hausit.

of devouring fire—5. 7. 3. incendium hausit.

(ii) *from the sea and navigation*—

5. 6. 34. tanquam navale bellum.

5. 52. 1. vixdum e naufragiis prioris culpae cladisque emergentes.

7. 21. 7. impendio magis publico quam iactura.
Cp. 5. 5. 8.

6. 13. 3. fluctuanti similis acies.

(iii) *from fire* (one of the commonest sources of Latin metaphors)—

6. 31. 1. anni principia statim seditione ingenti arsere.

5. 11. 4. quum arderent invidia.

6. 3. 8. quod (proelium) accensum . . . fuisset . . .

7. 30. 12. ubi conflagrassent Sidicini, ad nos traiecturum illud incendium esse.

(iv) *from light*—

7. 30. 23. lucem ac libertatem. Cp. clarus, &c.

(v) *from disease, and medicine*—

5. 5. 12. non hercle dissimilia ac si quis aegro, &c.

6. 40. 12. ut si quis ei, quem urgeat fames, venenum ponat.

6. 18. 2. Sanandis malis.

6. 10. 8. pestem adhaerentem lateri suo.

7. 22. 5. lentae velut tabis senio victa.

6. 18. 1. recrudescente . . . seditione.

(vi) *from plant life*—

6. 1. 3. velut ab stirpibus laetius feliciusque renatae.

7. 7. 5. eximium florem iuventutis.
6. 22. 4. deflorescere.

(vii) *from business—*

5. 4. 7. si ad calculos eum res publica vocet.
5. 22. 2. Liciniae familiae . . . acceptum referebant.
7. 20. 5. beneficia, locata praesertim apud tam gratos.

(viii) *from war and fortification—*

6. 37. 10. Consulatum superesse plebeiis; eam esse arcem libertatis, id columen.
7. 34. 4. arx illa est spei salutisque nostrae.
6. 18. 2. spem cepit . . . feneris expugnandi.
6. 39. 6. nonum se annum iam velut in acie . . . stare.
6. 11. 8. moliri fidem, 'to undermine credit.'
7. 12. 8. fulcire praesidiis.

(ix) *from the human body and its movements—*

6. 39. 6. nervos coniurationis.
7. 13. 7. compressis, quod aiunt, manibus sedeas.
6. 9. 1. id caput Volscorum. Cp. 6. 14. 10, &c.
6. 6. 18. erecti gaudio. Cp. 6. 1. 4. urbs erecta.

(x) *from loosing and binding—*

6. 11. 5. in spem pacis solutis animis.
6. 12. 10. haerere iam aciem.
5. 44. 7. vinctos somno.
5. 45. 3. nuda corpora et soluta somno.

(xi) *from other sources—*

6. 37. 6. octoiuges (from the circus). 5. 2. 10.
7. 12. 13. de coelo devolaturam in sinum victoriam.
6. 15. 5. istos incubantes publicis thesauris . . . evolvas.
6. 17. 3. saginare plebem suos, ut iugulentur.
7. 30. 18. umbra vestri auxilii, Romani, tegi possumus.
7. 31. 1. horreum populi Romani.
7. 37. 14. quum praemissus eques velut indagine dissipatos Samnites ageret.
6. 34. 7. subdere stimulos.
7. 40. 8. subdere spiritus.
iacio and iacto, frequently of wild vague words or of pretext, 6. 14. 11, &c. 5. 48. 7, 7. 21. 23.

III. The Use of particular forms and constructions.

(1) Constant use of **frequentative verbs**—

5. 48. 6. prospectans; 6. 5. 2. ostentabatur; 6. 7. 2. restitantes.

6. 27. 7. intentari; 5. 40. 3. concursatio; 5. 40. 7. rogitantium.

(2) Very extensive use of **verbal nouns and adjectives**—

(i) *verbals in -io*. These are exceedingly common in Livy, being not only used (*a*) to express the means or manner of an action (as in 5. 17. 1, 3. expiatio . . . procuratio). But (*b*) to express a simple act or its result. This is especially the case in descriptive passages, e. g.—

7. 10. 8. non cantus, non exsultatio, armorumque agitatio vana.

They often take the place of a *participial or gerundive* phrase, e. g.—

7. 21. 5. mensarios ab dispensatione pecuniae appellarunt.

7. 20. 9. ab oppugnatione urbium temperatum.

Other instances are plentiful, e. g.—

6. 38. 3. dimicatio; 5. 25. 8. aestimatio; 5. 11. 17. damnatio; 5. 23. 11. collatio; 5. 19. 9. procursationibus: 7. 33. 8. trepidatio; 7. 33. 17. profectio; 7. 39. 4. ludificatio; 7. 28. 4. detrectatio, &c. &c.

(ii) *verbals in -us*, specially used in the ablative—

7. 7. 8. effectu quam conatibus vanior. Cf. 6. 4. 6. effectum; 5. 21. 2. tuo ductu; 5. 21. 14. permissu; 5. 22. 8. occasus.

(iii) *verbals in -men, and -mentum* are fairly abundant, e. g.—

5. 5. 10. laxamentum; 5. 22. 6. molimenti; 5. 52. 1. momenta; 5. 54. 5. incrementum: 6. 35. 1. levamen; 7. 2. 3. placamina; 7. 11. 6. hortamenta; 7. 38. 5. instrumenta.

(iv) *verbals in -tor*. In Cicero these are generally reserved for cases where special emphasis is to be laid on the act as characteristic of the actor, or specially

significant[1]. In Livy these forms are more frequent, and lose something of their emphasis, though here too they may have a stronger force occasionally.

a. emphatic use: where the verbal marks a permanent quality or a characteristic act—

5. 50. 1. ut erat diligentissimus religionum cultor.

7. 32. 11. qui, audiendus dumtaxat, magnificus adhortator sit (here it is rather contemptuous).

6. 34. 5. quod haudquaquam inter id genus contemptor eius habebatur (of a permanent attribute).

7. 32. 13. a liberatoribus patriae ortus, 'men whose special glory it was to have freed their country.'

5. 37. 4. violatoribus iuris humani (the one act of the envoys stamps them for ever).

6. 36. 8. quum octo ex collegio tribunorum plebi primo intercessores legum fuissent (perhaps stronger than intercessissent, 'had taken the responsibilty of vetoing).'

6. 2. 12. minime largitore duce.

6. 23. 5. cunctatorem ex acerrimo bellatore factum.

b. neutral use, simply of occupation—

5. 19. 11, 7. 23. 7. munitores; 6. 38. 5. cultoribus; 7. 34. 4. ordinum ductor; 7. 19. 8. praedatores (cp. 5. 20. 6).

(v) *verbal adjectives in -bundus*—

7. 33. 18. gratulabunda.

5. 25. 9. contionabundus.

7. 19. 6. populabundus.

5. 41. 8. venerabundi.

(3) Livy uses the **gerund oftener than the gerundive**, and especially avoids the heavy terminations of the latter. The most characteristic uses are—

a. that of the *ablative of the gerund*, which is constantly used to qualify the main action of the sentence, with or without definite reference to the subject—

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[1] Nägelsbach, *Lateinische Stilistik*, § 54.

5. 2. 1. hiemando continuare bellum.

5. 10. 6. haec, per se gravia, indigniora . . . faciebant . . . arguendo.

5. 26. 3. differendo deinde elanguit res.

7. 31. 10. si leniter agendo parum proficerent.

7. 33. 1. non alias militi familiarior dux fuit, omnia inter infimos militum haud gravate munia obeundo.

6. 13. 5. obequitando.

Sometimes this ablative takes the place of a present participle passive.

7. 21. 2. prolatandis . . . comitiis . . . 'while the comitia were being constantly put off.'

b. that of the *genitive of the gerundive*: of purpose or tendency—

5. 3. 5. quam dissolvendae maxime trib. pot. rentur esse.

5. 6. 15. prodendae patriae.

5. 24. 5. spei maioris avertendae.

(4) A **participial phrase** is used to express the verbal action more concretely than two substantives would do.

5. 5. 10. id, quod nunc offendit Etruscos, rex creatus Veiis, 'the fact of a king having been made.'

5. 19. 3. omnia repente mutaverat imperator mutatus, 'the change of commander.'

5. 39. 4. complorati omnes . . . totam prope urbem lamentis impleverunt, 'the mourning for all.'

5. 52. 1. culti neglectique numinis monumenta.

6. 2. 9. Camillus auditus imperator, 'the news that Camillus was in command.'

7. 5. 3. opus esse sibi domino eius convento.

7. 8. 5. diu non perlitatum tenuerat dictatorem.

7. 13. 4. sicubi loco cessum, si terga data hosti, &c.

But the frequent use of the verbal nouns in -tio leaves less room for this construction.

(5) **The infinitive**—

a. *historic infinitive* frequently in descriptive passages, e. g. 5. 7. 10; 6. 6. 6, &c.

b. its use in *dependence on verbs* is extended—

5. 45. 4. in animo habuerint oppugnare.

5. 49. 1. prohibuere redemptos vivere. Cp. 5. 49. 8.

5. 5. 3. dubitet . . . invasuros?

c. the *subject is* frequently *unexpressed in oratio obliqua*—

5. 5. 9. negant missuros. Cp. Virg. Aen. 8. 534.

5. 22. 6. vocem quoque dicentis velle auditam.

5. 25. 5. nihil de collatione dicere.

d. infinitive sometimes used for the subjunctive in oratio obliqua in rhetorical questions of the 2nd pers.—

6. 17. 5. quem prope caelestem . . . fecerint, eum pati?

6. 39. 10. quae munera quando tandem satis grato animo aestimaturos, si . . . incidant?

See notes in loc.

6) **The Subjunctive**—

a. of frequency (= Greek optative 'of indefinite frequency') 'iterative subjunctive.'

5. 42. 4. quocunque clamor hostium . . . avertisset.

6. 25. 9. qua quemque suorum usuum causae ferrent.

b. often used with 'antequam,' 'priusquam,' &c., even where there is no obvious sense of purpose, e. g.—

5. 16. 1. priusquam . . . redirent.

c. perfect used in consecutive clauses dependent on a secondary tense, to mark a striking result, without emphasising it as a past event (Roby, *L. G.*, 1516. Draeger, *Hist. Syntax der Lat. Sprache*, § 133)—

5. 43. 3. fudere . . . ut tentaverint.

The imperfect and perfect are often combined—

5. 45. 4. facerent . . . habuerint.

Cp. 5. 2. 9; 5. 11. 14.

d. perfect, to qualify a statement—

5. 33. 4. equidem haud abnuerim, 'I am not disposed to deny.' Cp. 7. 26. 15.

In 6. 40. 5. and 7. 10. 2. a protasis is expressed.

e. sometimes used *for questions in the 3rd person in oratio obliqua*—

5. 2. 8. quod tribuni militum . . . exercerent? quidnam illi consules facturi essent?

7. 15. 2. ecquis sequeretur?

Such exceptions are chiefly due to the sentence being conceived as a dependent interrogative (see Roby, *Latin Grammar*, 1782, note).

f. after '*quia*' *and* '*quod*' to express a reason subjectively—

5. 1. 4. quia . . . diremisset.

5. 1. 6. quod excelleret.

(7) **Verbs used absolutely**—

5. 8. 12. praeesse.

6. 14. 13. differre.

5. 43. 3. inferebat.

5. 17. 5. turbari.

(8) **Adjectives**—

the neuter plural is often used with a noun in the genitive—

6. 31. 7. extrema finium.

5. 1. 4. sollemnia ludorum.

5. 19. 4. aversa urbis.

(9) **Pronouns**—

a. alius is often used in the sense of ὁ ἄλλος, 'the rest,' 'besides.'

5. 40. 5. alia maxime plebis turba.

6. 25. 9. aliud vulgus.

b. '*quisque*' *is a favourite word*, especially in the phrase 'pro se quisque.'

7. 36. 7. pro se quisque obviam effusi laudant.

7. 33. 10. sic pro se quisque obvios sternite. 5. 7. 9, &c.

5. 14. 5. honoratissimum quemque.

5. 20. 6. ut quisque.

5. 32. 9. primo quoque tempore.

c. pregnant use of the demonstrative 'is'—

7. 35. 2. quae pars maior erit, eo stabitur consilio (= eius).

5. 17. 10. cum magnum advenisse hostium numerum.

Cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 171. nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstris.

5. 21. 15. ut si cui deorum . . . ut eam invidiam.

(10) **Use of the cases**—

a. genitive—

i. genitives depending on adjectives or participles—

5. 11. 4. trepidi rerum suarum. Cp. Aen. 12. 589.

5. 31. 4. perseverantior caedendi.

ii. frequent use of partitive genitive after neuter adjectives and pronouns—

7. 27. 2. extrema periculorum. Cp. supra (8).

5. 37. 3. nihil extraordinarii imperii.

5. 38. 2. paulum . . . editi loci.

5. 53. 4. hoc necessitatis.

6. 40. 11. hoc portenti.

7. 17. 3. id poenae.

5. 33. 1. si quicquam humanorum certi est.

iii. for genitive of gerundive see above p. 24.

b. dative—

'predicative' dative—

5. 33. 8. argumento.

5. 47. 4. saluti.

5. 51. 8. documento.

For other uses of the *dative* see Index under *fretus*, *insignis*.

c. ablative—

Free uses of the ablative of manner are common, e.g.—

6. 32. 10. vestigiis. Cp. 7. 4. 2.

for the ablative of the gerund and other verbal nouns see above, pp. 22, 23.

(11) **Adverbs**—

a. adverbs or adverbial phrases used to qualify nouns—

5. 41. 1. contra ius caedis.

5. 30. 5. cetera circa templa.

b. adeo is often used to introduce a *concluding* sentence,

summing up, or giving the cause or result of the preceding—

5. 6. 15. adeo . . . assuestis quieti audire.

6. 17. 5.

6. 25. 11. See Index, *sub voce.*

utique, 'in any case,' 'at least,' is a favourite word—

5. 24. 7. post captam utique Romam (see note). Cp. 5. 51. 2, 5. 53. 3, 6. 20. 1.

c. adverbs in -to from participles are frequent—

5. 52. 2. auspicato inauguratoque.

6. 30. 4. inexplorato.

5. 11. 7. compecto.

5. 14. 4. auspicato.

5. 38. 1. nec auspicato nec litato.

d. 'ita' of limiting conditions—

7. 31. 2. ita vobiscum amicitiam institui par est, ne qua vetustios amicitia ac societas violetur.

5. 12. 4. ita prospere . . . ut nullo bello veniretur ad exitum spei.

6. 21. 9. ita placide ab senatu responsum est, ut minus credi de criminibus, quia nollent ea vera esse, appareret.

(12) **Conjunctions**—

sed, in a strong sense—

5. 26. 1. propter bella simulabant parari ducem; *sed* ('but the fact was') largitioni tribuniciae adversarius quaerebatur.

enimvero, in indignant speech—

5. 25. 6. enimvero illud se tacere suam conscientiam non pati.

postquam, with imperfect indicative, to describe an effect as lasting—

5. 39. 2. postquam . . . cernebatur.

5. 12. 6.

'dum,' and 'donec,' in the sense of 'all the time that,' are used with imperfect indicative.

6. 13. 4.
7. 39. 1.
5. 25. 3.

quippe is frequently used, especially to introduce oblique clauses. Cp. 5. 3. 6, 5. 24. 10, 5. 51. 2. See Index.

(13) **Prepositions**—

Ab, of sequence passing into the sense of cause.

5. 28. 7. negligentius ab re bene gesta.
5. 44. 6. ab secundis rebus magis etiam solito incauti.
6. 3. 8. accensum ab desperatione hostium.
5. 5. 3. non a cupiditate solum ulciscendi.

For other prepositions see Index.

NOTE ON THE ROMAN ARMY AT THIS PERIOD[1].

THE period covered by these books is one of transition from the old arrangements of Servius Tullius to the organisation which we find existing at the time of Polybius. The data for our knowledge of it at this time are Livy 8. 8, where, on the occasion of the Latin War (340 B.C.), an account, not clear in all points, is given of the arrangement of the Roman army since the introduction of pay (406 B.C.), incidental notices in these books of Livy, supplemented by Polybius' account of the army nearly two hundred years later (Polyb. 6. 23, &c.).

Three changes mark this period.

(1) *The introduction of pay.*

(2) Certain changes in *armament* introduced by Camillus in the Gallic wars.

(3) *The substitution of the manipular organisation for the earlier phalanx*: perhaps also introduced by Camillus. This organisation was based on differences of age and skill, no longer on differences of census.

The line of battle consisted of three main divisions:—

Hastati, *Principes*, *Triarii*, arranged one behind the other *in quincuncem*, i. e. so that a maniple of the second division stood behind the gap between two maniples of the first.

The unit, the *maniple*, marked by its own *signum*, was divided into two *centuries* of sixty men; the command being taken by the *centurion of the century on the right.*

The *Hastati* consisted of the young men (*flos iuvenum*), the *Principes* of men in their prime (*robustior aetas*), and the *Triarii* of veterans.

Behind the *Triarii* came two divisions of light troops, the

[1] Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 334, &c.

Rorarii and *Accensi* (Livy 8. 8). Their place was afterwards taken by the *Velites*. The exact numbers of the different divisions at this time is uncertain. In the time of Polybius (circ. 146 B.C.) for a normal legion of 4200, they were—

Hastati,	10 maniples of	120	= 1200
Principes,	„	„	= 1200
Triarii,	„	60	= 600
Velites,			= 1200

Besides this there were 300 *cavalry to a legion*, ten *turmae* of thirty each.

The Hastati first advanced to battle, leaving their standards (*signa*) behind them to mark their position. If they failed they withdrew behind the Principes, who in their turn advanced to the front. If they were beaten, both Hastati and Principes retired into the gaps between the maniples of Triarii, and the whole body then advanced in close order.

The term *antesignani* (Livy 7. 33. 9; 9. 39. 7, &c.) is applied to the troops who at any time have advanced beyond the *signa manipulorum*, i. e. at the beginning of a battle the Hastati, or later on the Principes, if they advanced in their turn.

The advantage of this manipular arrangement was its ease of movement and independence of difficulties of ground, Livy 9. 19. 8. 'Illa phalanx (the Macedonian) immobilis et unius generis, Romana acies distinctior, ex pluribus partibus constans, facilis partienti, quacunque opus esset, facilis iungenti.'

Armament.—The heavy troops wore a bronze helmet, a shield (*scutum*), greaves, and a leather corslet (*lorica*), sometimes covered with metal rings.

Their arms of offence were :—

(1) *The pike* (*hasta*), originally, no doubt, the weapon of the Hastati in the old phalanx, now that of the Triarii : who knelt behind the two front divisions with the *hasta* sloped forwards over their heads, Livy 8. 8.

(2) *The javelin* (*pilum*) a weapon for hurling. It consisted of a long wooden shaft with an iron shaft of the same length fastened to it so as to reach half-way along the wood, the length

of the whole being $6\frac{3}{4}$ ft. This was now the arm of the Hastati and Principes, and later on was also used by the Triarii.

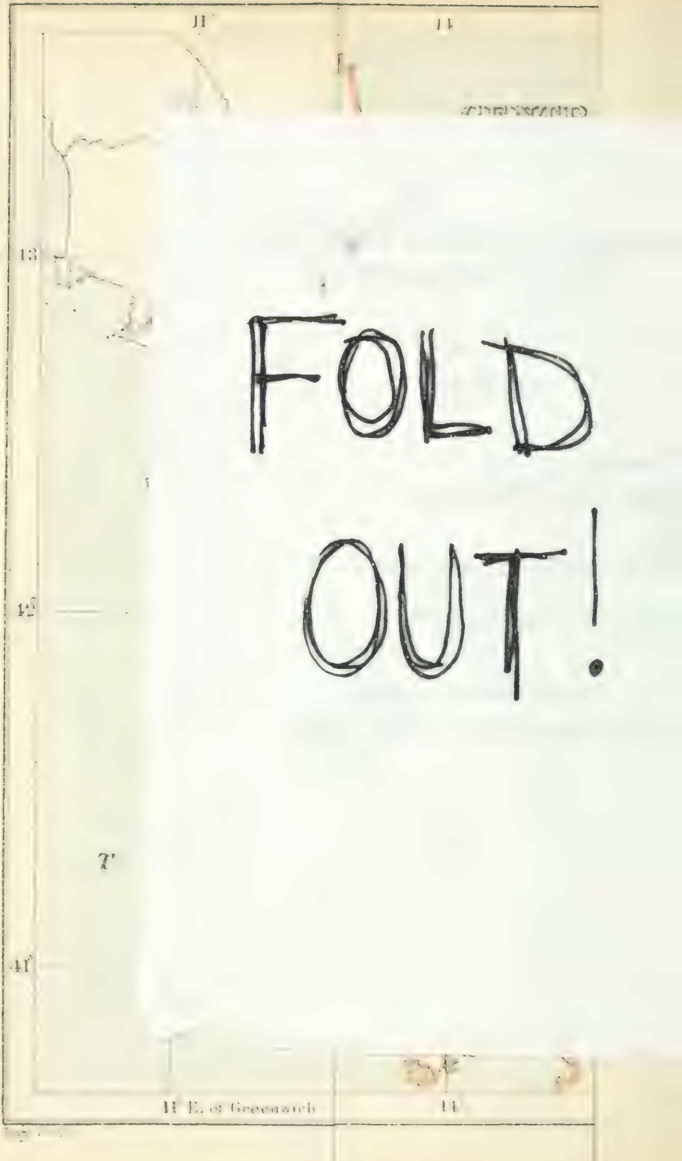
(3) *A short two-edged sword.*

The Velites wore a cap of leather or skin (*galea*), and a light shield (*parma*), and their weapons were the sword and light spears. The earlier Rorarii and Accensi seem only to have used darts and staves, which they discharged, and then fell back to the rear.

Officers.—Each legion had at its head six *Tribuni militum*, at first all nominated by the consuls. After 362 B.C. six out of the usual twenty-four were elected by the people (Livy 7. 5. 9). These *tribuni a populo*, whose number in 207 B.C. had risen to twenty-four, are distinguished from the *rufuli* (= a consule facti). The tribunes were not men who had risen from the ranks; they were generally young men of senatorial or equestrian family.

Each of the centuries of the legion had a Centurion. The centurions were annually appointed by the consul through the tribunes. They were arranged in grades according as they belonged to the Hastati, Principes, or Triarii, and to a higher or lower century in these divisions, from the lowest century of the Hastati up to the highest of the Triarii. The centurion of this latter was called *primi pili centurio*, Livy 7. 41. 5, and held a specially privileged position, even taking part in the council of war with the tribunes.

Troops of the Allies.—After the *aequum foedus* made by Sp. Cassius with the Latins in 493 B.C., till the end of the Latin war, the Latins as well as the Romans sent their contingent to the army of the league. But they were now beginning to be irregular in their supply of troops. (Cp. Livy 6. 6. 4, &c.) From Livy 8. 8. 15 it appears that their arms and organisation were the same as those of the Romans. Cp. Livy 6. 32. 7 'Latinae . . . legiones, longa societate militiam Romanam edoctae.'



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LIVY, BOOKS V, VI, VII.

BOOK V.

The Capture of Veii.—The Gauls at Rome.

§ 1. *The war between Rome and Veii draws to an end. At Rome eight Military Tribunes are elected, all patrician.* § 3. *The people of Veii set up a king, and the rest of Etruria in consequence refuse to help them.* § 8. *The Romans prepare for attack from Etruria by making their lines face both ways.* **B.C. 403.**

Pace alibi parta Romani Veiique in armis erant tanta 1 **Ch. 1.**
ira odioque, ut victis finem adesse appareret. Comitia
utriusque populi longe diversa ratione facta sunt. Ro- 2
mani auxere tribunorum militum consulari potestate
numerum; octo, quot nunquam antea, creati, M'. Aemilius Mamercinus iterum, L. Valerius Potitus tertium, App. Claudius Crassus, M. Quinctilius Varus, L. Iulius Iulus, M. Postumius, M. Furius Camillus, M. Postumius Albinus.
Veientes contra taedio annuae ambitionis, quae interdum 3
discordiarum causa erat, regem creavere. Offendit ea
res populorum Etruriae animos, non maiore odio regni
quam ipsius regis. Gravis iam is antea genti fuerat 4
opibus superbiaque, quia sollemnia ludorum, quos inter-
mitti nefas est, violenter diremisset, quum ob iram repulsae, 5
quod suffragio duodecim populorum alius sacerdos ei
praelatus esset, artifices, quorum magna pars ipsius servi
erant, ex medio ludicro repente abduxit. Gens itaque 6

B.C. 403. ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus, quod ex-
celleret arte colendi eas, auxilium Veientibus negandum,
7 donec sub rege essent, decrevit; cuius decreti suppressa
fama est Veiis propter metum regis, qui, a quo tale quid
dictum referretur, pro seditionis eum principe, non vani
8 sermonis auctore habebat. Romanis etsi quietae res ex
Etruria nuntiabantur, tamen, quia omnibus conciliis eam
9 rem agitari afferebatur, ita muniebant, ut ancipitia muni-
menta essent: alia in urbem et contra oppidanorum
eruptiones versa, aliis frons in Etruriam spectans auxiliis,
si qua forte inde venirent, obstruebatur.

Ch. 2. § I. *The blockade of Veii involves winter-quarters and perpetual service.* § 3. *The Tribunes of the plebs complain that the cause of the plebs is being insidiously weakened by the Military Tribunes, but they find their match in Appius Claudius, the old enemy of the Tribunate.*

1 Quum spes maior imperatoribus Romanis in obsidione
quam in oppugnatione esset, hibernacula etiam, res
nova militi Romano, aedificari coepta, consiliumque erat
2 hiemando continuare bellum. Quod postquam tribunis
plebis, iam diu nullam novandi res causam invenientibus,
Romam est allatum, in contionem prosiliunt, sollicitant
3 plebis animos, hoc illud esse dictitantes, quod aera mili-
tibus sint constituta; nec se fefellisse, id donum inimi-
4 corum veneno illitum fore. Venisse libertatem plebis;
remotam in perpetuum et ablegatam ab urbe et ab re
publica iuventutem iam ne hiemi quidem aut tempori
5 anni cedere ac domos ac res invisere suas. Quam putarent
continuatae militiae causam esse? Nullam profecto aliam
inventuros, quam ne quid per frequentiam iuvenum eorum,
in quibus vires omnes plebis essent, agi de commodis
6 eorum posset. Vexari praeterea et subigi multo acrius

quam Veientes; quippe illos hiemem sub tectis suis agere, **B.C. 403.**
egregiis muris situque naturali urbem tutantes, militem 7
Romanum in opere ac labore, nivibus pruinisque obrutum,
sub pellibus durare, ne hiemis quidem spatio, quae omnium
bellorum terra marique sit quies, arma deponentem. Hoc 8
neque reges neque ante tribuniciam potestatem creatam
superbos illos consules neque triste dictatoris imperium
neque importunos decemviros iniunxisse servitutis, ut
perennem militiam facerent. Quod tribuni militum in
plebe Romana regnum exercerent? Quidnam illi consules 9
dictatoresve facturi essent, qui proconsularem imaginem
tam saevam ac trucem fecerint? Sed id accidere haud
immerito. Non fuisse ne in octo quidem tribunis militum
locum ulli plebeio. Antea trina loca cum contentione 10
summa patricios explere solitos; nunc iam octoiuges ad
imperia obtinenda ire, et ne in turba quidem haerere
plebeium quemquam, qui, si nihil aliud, admoneat collegas, 11
liberos et cives eorum, non servos militare, quos hieme
saltem in domos ac tecta reduci oporteat et aliquo tempore 12
anni parentes liberosque ac coniuges invisere et usurpare
libertatem et creare magistratus. Haec taliaque vocife- 13
rantes adversarium haud imparem nacti sunt App.
Claudium, relictum a collegis ad tribunicias seditiones
comprimendas, virum imbutum iam ab iuventa certa-
minibus plebeiis, quem auctorem aliquot annis ante fuisse 14
memoratum est per collegarum intercessionem tribuniciae
potestatis dissolvendae.

Appius declares that the Tribunes of the Plebs are selfishly bent on disturbing the harmony between Plebs and Patricians, on which the greatness of Rome depends. **Ch. 3.**

Is tum iam non promptus ingenio tantum, sed usu 1
etiam exercitatus, talem orationem habuit: 'Si unquam 2

B.C. 403. dubitatum est, Quirites, utrum tribuni plebis vestra an sua
causa seditionum semper auctores fuerint, id ego hoc anno
3 desisse dubitari certum habeo; et quum laetor, tandem
longi erroris vobis finem factum esse, tum, quod secundis
potissimum vestris rebus hic error est sublatus, et vobis et
4 propter vos rei publicae gratulor. An est quisquam, qui
dubitet, nullis iniuriis nostris, si quae forte aliquando fue-
runt, unquam aeque quam munere patrum in plebem,
quum aera militantibus constituta sunt, tribunos plebis
5 offensos ac concitatos esse? Quid illos aliud aut tum
timuisse creditis aut hodie turbare velle nisi concordiam
ordinum, quam dissolvendae maxime tribuniciae potestatis
6 rentur esse? Sic hercule, tanquam artifices improbi, opus
quaerunt, [qui] et semper aegri aliquid esse in re publica
volunt, ut sit, ad cuius curationem a vobis adhibeantur.
7 Utrum enim defenditis an impugnatis plebem? Utrum
militantium adversarii estis an causam agitis? Nisi forte
hoc dicitis: "Quicquid patres faciunt, displicet, sive illud
8 pro plebe sive contra plebem est," et, quemadmodum
cum servis suis vetant domini quicquam rei alienis
hominibus esse pariterque in iis beneficio ac maleficio
abstineri aequum censent, sic vos interdicitis patribus
commercio plebis, ne nos comitate ac munificentia nostra
provocemus plebem, nec plebs nobis dicto audiens atque
9 obediens sit. Quanto tandem, si quicquam in vobis, non
dico civilis, sed humani *animi* esset, favere vos magis et,
quantum in vobis esset, indulgere potius comitati patrum
10 atque obsequio plebis oportuit? Quae si perpetua con-
cordia sit, quis non spondere ausit, maximum hoc imperium
inter finitimos brevi futurum esse?

'It is no hardship to give a year's work for a year's pay: and Rome cannot afford to drop a war once undertaken, and that against a rebellious and dangerous enemy.' B.C. 403.

'Atque ego, quam hoc consilium collegarum meorum, 1 Ch. 4.
quo abducere infecta re a Veiis exercitum noluerunt, non utile solum, sed etiam necessarium fuerit, postea disseram; nunc de ipsa condicione dicere militantium libet; quam 2
orationem non apud vos solum, sed etiam in castris si habeatur, ipso exercitu disceptante, aequam arbitror videri posse. In qua si mihi ipsi nihil, quod dicerem, in mentem venire posset, adversariorum certe orationibus contentus essem. Negabant nuper, danda esse aera militibus, quia 3
nunquam data essent. Quonam modo igitur nunc indignari possunt, quibus aliquid novi adiectum commodi sit, eis laborem etiam novum pro portione iniungi? Nusquam 4
nec opera sine emolumento nec emolumentum ferme sine impensa opera est. Labor voluptasque, dissimillima natura, societate quadam inter se naturali sunt iuncta. Moleste antea ferebat miles, se suo sumptu operam rei 5
publicae praebere; gaudebat idem, partem anni se agrum suum colere, quaerere, unde domi militiaeque se ac suos tueri posset; gaudet nunc, fructui sibi rem publicam esse, 6
et laetus stipendium accipit; aequo igitur animo patiatur, se ab domo ac re familiari, cui gravis impensa non est, paulo diutius abesse. An, si ad calculos eum res publica 7
vocet, non merito dicat: "Annua aera habes, annuam operam ede; an tu aequum censes, militia semestri solidum te stipendium accipere?" Invitus in hac parte 8
orationis, Quirites, moror; sic enim agere debent, qui mercenario milite utuntur; nos tanquam cum civibus agere volumus, agique tanquam cum patria nobiscum aequum censemus. Aut non suscipi bellum oportuit, aut geri pro 9

B.C. 403. dignitate populi Romani et perfici quam primum oportet.
10 Perficietur autem, si urgemus obsessos, si non ante
abscedimus, quam spei nostrae finem captis Veiis im-
posuerimus. Si hercules nulla alia causa, ipsa indignitas
11 perseverantiam imponere debuit. Decem quondam annos
urbs oppugnata est ob unam mulierem ab universa Graecia,
quam procul ab domo? quot terras, quot maria distans?
12 nos intra vicesimum lapidem, in conspectu prope urbis
nostrae, annuam oppugnationem perferre piget. Scilicet
quia levis causa belli est nec satis quicquam iusti doloris
13 est, quod nos ad perseverandum stimulet. Septies re-
bellarunt; in pace nunquam fida fuerunt; agros nostros
millies depopulati sunt; Fidenates deficere a nobis coege-
14 runt; colonos nostros ibi interfecerunt; auctores fuere
contra ius caedis impiae legatorum nostrorum; Etruriam
omnem adversus nos concitare voluerunt, hodieque id
moliuntur; res repetentes legatos nostros haud procul afuit
quin violarent.

Ch. 5. '*To withdraw now would involve,* (1) *War in our own territory,* (2) *Waste of our siege-works,* (3) *Risk of an Etruscan war.*'

1 'Cum his molliter et per dilationes bellum geri oportet?
Si nos tam iustum odium nihil movet, ne illa quidem, oro
2 vos, movent? Operibus ingentibus saepta urbs est, quibus
intra muros coercetur hostis; agrum non coluit, et culta
3 evastata sunt bello; si reducimus exercitum, quis est, qui
dubitet, illos non a cupiditate solum ulciscendi, sed etiam
necessitate imposita ex alieno praedandi, quum sua amise-
rint, agrum nostrum invasuros? Non differimus igitur
bellum isto consilio, sed intra fines nostros accipimus.
4 Quid? illud, quod proprie ad milites pertinet, quibus boni
tribuni plebis tum stipendium extorquere voluerunt, nunc

consultum repente volunt, quale est? Vallum fossamque, **B.C. 403.**
ingentis utramque rem operis, per tantum spatii duxerunt; 5
castella primo pauca, postea, exercitu aucto, creberrima
fecerunt; munitiones non in urbem modo, sed in Etruriam
etiam spectantes, si qua inde auxilia veniant, opposuere;
quid turres, quid vineas testudinesque et alium oppug- 6
nandarum urbium apparatum loquar? Quum tantum
laboris exhaustum sit et ad finem iam operis tandem
perventum, relinquendane haec censetis, ut ad aestatem
rursus novus de integro his instituendis exsudetur labor?
Quanto est minus opera tueri facta et instare ac per- 7
severare defungique cura *brevi*? brevis enim profecto res
est, si uno tenore peragitur nec ipsi per intermissiones
has intervallaque lentiorem spem nostram facimus.
Loquor de opere et de temporis iactura; quid? periculi, 8
quod differendo bello adimus, num oblivisci nos haec
tam crebra Etruriae concilia de mittendis Veios auxiliis
patiuntur? Ut nunc res se habet, irati sunt, oderunt, ne- 9
gant missuros; quantum in illis est, capere Veios licet.
Quis est, qui spondeat, eundem, si differtur bellum, animum
postea fore, quum, si laxamentum dederis, maior fre- 10
quentiorque legatio itura sit, quum id, quod nunc offendit
Etruscos, rex creatus Veiis, mutari spatio interposito possit
vel consensu civitatis, ut eo reconcilient Etruriae animos,
vel ipsius voluntate regis, qui obstare regnum suum saluti
civium nolit? Videte, quot res, quam inutiles sequantur 11
illam viam consilii, iactura operum tanto labore factorum,
vastatio imminens finium nostrorum, Etruscum bellum pro
Veiente concitatum. Haec sunt, tribuni, consilia vestra, non 12
hercule dissimilia ac si quis aegro, qui curari se fortiter passus
extemplo convalescere possit, cibi gratia praesentis aut po-
tionis longinquum et forsitan insanabilem morbum efficiat.

B.C. 403. '*Endurance is essential to military discipline: and it is scandalous that while individual disobedience is punished, public incitement to mutiny should go free. That is a sorry freedom which destroys respect for law, tradition, and discipline.*'

Ch. 6. 1 'Si, mediusfidius, ad hoc bellum nihil pertineret, ad disciplinam certe militiae plurimum intererat, insuescere militem nostrum non solum parata victoria frui, sed, si
2 etiam res lentior sit, pati taedium et quamvis serae spei exitum exspectare et, si non sit aestate perfectum bellum, hiemem opperiri nec, sicut aestivas aves, statim autumno
3 tecta ac recessum circumspicere. Obsecro vos: venandi studium ac voluptas homines per nives ac pruinas in montes silvasque rapit; belli necessitatibus eam patientiam non adhibebimus, quam vel lusus ac voluptas elicere
4 solet? Adeone effeminata corpora militum nostrorum esse putamus, adeo molles animos, ut hiemem unam durare in castris, abesse ab domo non possint? ut tanquam navale bellum tempestatibus captandis et observando tempore anni gerant, non aestus, non frigora pati possint?
5 Erubescant profecto, si quis eis haec obiiciat, contendantque, et animis et corporibus suis virilem patientiam inesse, et se iuxta hieme atque aestate bella gerere posse, nec se patrocinium mollitiae inertiaeque mandasse tribunis, et meminisse, hanc ipsam potestatem non in umbra
6 nec in tectis maiores suos creasse. Haec virtute militum vestrorum, haec Romano nomine sunt digna, non Veios tantum nec hoc bellum intueri, quod instat, sed famam et ad alia bella et ad ceteros populos in posterum quaerere.
7 An mediocre discrimen opinionis secuturum ex hac re putatis, utrum tandem finitimi populum Romanum eum tribuni tent, cuius si qua urbs primum illum brevissimi

temporis sustinuerit impetum, nihil deinde timeat, an hic B.C. 403.
sit terror nominis nostri, ut exercitum Romanum non 8
taedium longinquae oppugnationis, non vis hiemis ab
urbe circumsessa semel amovere possit, nec finem ullum
alium belli quam victoriam noverit, nec impetu potius
bella quam perseverantia gerat? Quae in omni quidem 9
genere militiae, maxime tamen in obsidendis urbibus
necessaria est, quarum plerasque munitionibus ac naturali
situ inexpugnabiles fame sitique tempus ipsum vincit
atque expugnat, sicut Veios expugnabit, nisi auxilio 10
hostibus tribuni plebis fuerint, et Romae invenerint prae-
sidia Veientes, quae nequicquam in Etruria quaerunt.
An est quicquam, quod Veientibus optatum aeque con- 11
tingere possit, quam ut seditionibus primum urbs Romana,
deinde velut ex contagione castra impleantur? At hercule 12
apud hostes tanta modestia est, ut non obsidionis taedio,
non denique regni quicquam apud eos novatum sit, non
negata auxilia ab Etruscis irritaverint animos; morietur 13
enim extemplo, quicunque erit seditionis auctor, nec
cuiquam dicere ea licebit, quae apud vos impune dicuntur.
Fustuarium meretur, qui signa relinquit aut praesidio 14
decedit; auctores signa relinquendi et deserendi castra
non uni aut alteri militi, sed universis exercitibus palam
in contione audiuntur: adeo, quicquid tribunus plebi 15
loquitur, etsi prodendae patriae dissolvendaeque rei pub-
licae est, assuestis quieti audire et dulcedine potestatis eius
capti quaelibet sub ea scelera latere sinitis. Reliquum est, 16
ut, quae hic vociferantur, eadem in castris et apud milites
agant et exercitus corrumpant ducibusque parere non
patiantur, quoniam ea demum Romae libertas est, non 17
senatum, non magistratus, non leges, non morem maiorum,
non instituta patrum, non disciplinam vereri militiae.'

B.C. 403. § 1. *The Roman siege-works being burnt by the Veientines, special efforts are made at Rome.* § 5. *Rich men volunteer for service in the cavalry* (equites equis suis) *and the plebs for service on foot, and good feeling is restored. The siege-works at Veii are rebuilt.*

Ch. 7. 1 Par iam etiam in contionibus erat Appius tribunis
plebis, quum subito, unde minime quis crederet, accepta
calamitas apud Veios et superiorem Appium in causa et
concordiam ordinum maiorem ardoremque ad obsidendos
2 pertinacius Veios fecit. Nam quum agger promotus ad
urbem vineaeque tantum non iam iniunctae moenibus
essent, dum opera interdiu fiunt intentius quam nocte
3 custodiuntur, patefacta repente porta, ingens multitudo,
facibus maxime armata, ignes coniecit, horaeque momento
simul aggerem ac vineas, tam longi temporis opus, incen-
dium hausit; multique ibi mortales, nequicquam opem
4 ferentes, ferro ignique absumpti sunt. Quod ubi Romam
est nuntiatum, maestitiam omnibus, senatui curam metum-
que iniecit, ne tum vero sustineri nec in urbe seditio nec
in castris posset, et tribuni plebis velut ab se victae rei
5 publicae insultarent, quum repente, quibus census equester
erat, equi publici non erant assignati, concilio prius inter
sese habito, senatum adeunt, factaque dicendi potestate,
6 equis se suis stipendia facturos promittunt. Quibus quum
amplissimis verbis gratiae ab senatu actae essent, famaque
ea forum atque urbem pervasisset, subito ad curiam con-
7 cursus fit plebis; pedestris ordinis [se] aiunt nunc esse
operam [que] rei publicae extra ordinem polliceri, seu
Veios seu quo alio ducere velint; si Veios ducti sint,
negant se inde prius quam capta urbe hostium redituros
8 esse. Tum vero iam superfundenti se laetitiae vix tem-
peratum est; non enim, sicut equites, dato magistratibus
9 negotio laudari iussi, neque aut in curiam vocati, quibus

Curia Hostilia stood facing Comitium on N. side and [illegible]tely opp. to Rostra. Was ordinary place of meeting of senate until [illegible] fall of Republic

responsum daretur, aut limine curiae continebatur senatus; **B.C. 403.** sed pro se quisque ex superiore loco ad multitudinem in comitio stantem voce manibusque significare publicam laetitiam, beatam urbem Romanam et invictam et aeternam 10 illa concordia dicere, laudare equites, laudare plebem, diem ipsum laudibus ferre, victam esse fateri comitatem benignitatemque senatus. Certatim patribus plebique 11 manare gaudio lacrimae, donec, revocatis in curiam patribus, senatus consultum factum est, ut tribuni militares, 12 contione advocata, peditibus equitibusque gratias agerent, memorem pietatis eorum erga patriam dicerent senatum fore; placere autem, omnibus his voluntariam extra ordinem professis militiam aera procedere; et equiti certus numerus aeris est assignatus. Tum primum equis suis 13 merere equites coeperunt. Voluntarius ductus exercitus Veios non amissa modo restituit opera, sed nova etiam instituit. Ab urbe commeatus intentiore quam antea subvehi cura, ne quid tam bene merito exercitui ad usum deesset.

§ 1. *A garrison at Anxur is surprised.* § 4. *The Veientines are reinforced by troops from Capena and Falerii, and the Roman army, attacked on both sides, suffers heavy loss through the jealousy of the tribunes, L. Verginius and M'. Sergius.* **B.C. 402.**

Insequens annus tribunos militum consulari potestate 1 **Ch. 8.** habuit C. Servilium Ahalam tertium, Q. Servilium, L. Verginium, Q. Sulpicium, A. Manlium iterum, M'. Sergium iterum. His tribunis, dum cura omnium in Veiens 2 bellum intenta est, neglectum Anxuri praesidium vacationibus militum et Volscos mercatores vulgo receptando, proditis repente portarum custodibus oppressum est. Minus militum periit, quia praeter aegros lixarum in 3 modum omnes per agros vicinasque urbes negotiabantur.

B.C. 402. Nec Veiis melius gesta res, quod tum caput omnium
4 curarum publicarum erat; nam et duces Romani plus
inter se irarum quam adversus hostes animi habuerunt,
et auctum est bellum adventu repentino Capenatium
5 atque Faliscorum. Hi duo Etruriae populi, quia proximi
regione erant, devictis Veiis bello quoque Romano se
6 proximos fore credentes, Falisci propria etiam causa
infesti, quod Fidenati bello se iam antea immiscuerant,
per legatos ultro citroque missos iure iurando inter se
obligati, cum exercitibus necopinato ad Veios accessere.
7 Forte ea regione, qua M'. Sergius tribunus militum
praeerat, castra adorti sunt, ingentemque terrorem intulere,
quia Etruriam omnem excitam sedibus magna mole
8 adesse Romani crediderant. Eadem opinio Veientes in
urbe concitavit. Ita ancipiti proelio castra Romana
oppugnabantur; concursantesque quum huc atque illuc
signa transferrent, nec Veientem satis cohibere intra
munitiones nec suis munimentis arcere vim ac tueri se
9 ab exteriore poterant hoste. Una spes erat, si ex
maioribus castris subveniretur, ut diversae legiones aliae
adversus Capenatem ac Faliscum, aliae contra eruptionem
oppidanorum pugnarent; sed castris praeerat Verginius,
10 privatim Sergio invisus infestusque. Is, quum pleraque
castella oppugnata, superatas munitiones, utrinque invehi
hostem nuntiaretur, in armis milites tenuit, si opus foret
11 auxilio, collegam dictitans ad se missurum. Huius arro-
gantiam pertinacia alterius aequabat, qui, ne quam opem
ab inimico videretur petisse, vinci ab hoste quam vincere
12 per civem maluit. Diu in medio caesi milites; postremo
desertis munitionibus, perpauci in maiora castra, pars
maxima atque ipse Sergius Romam pertenderunt. Ubi
quum omnem culpam in collegam inclinaret, acciri Ver-

ginium ex castris, interea praeesse legatos placuit. Acta **B.C. 402.**
deinde in senatu res est certatumque inter collegas 13
maledictis. Pauci rei publicae, huic atque illi, ut quosque
studium privatim aut gratia occupaverant, adsunt.

It is proposed that new Military Tribunes be elected for 1st October instead of 13th December: resistance from the tribunes in office is overborne by C. Servilius Ahala threatening to appoint a dictator. Ch. 9.

Primores patrum, sive culpa sive infelicitate imperato- 1
rum tam ignominiosa clades accepta esset, censuere, non
exspectandum iustum tempus comitiorum, sed extemplo
novos tribunos militum creandos esse, qui calendis Octo-
bribus magistratum occiperent. In quam sententiam 2
quum pedibus iretur, ceteri tribuni militum nihil contra-
dicere; at enimvero Sergius Verginiusque, propter quos 3
paenitere magistratuum eius anni senatum apparebat,
primo deprecari ignominiam, deinde intercedere senatus
consulto, negare, se ante idus Decembres, sollemnem
ineundis magistratibus diem, honore abituros esse. Inter 4
haec tribuni plebis, quum in concordia hominum secundis-
que rebus civitatis inviti silentium tenuissent, feroces re-
pente minari tribunis militum, nisi in auctoritate senatus
essent, se in vincla eos duci iussuros esse. Tum C. Ser- 5
vilius Ahala tribunus militum: 'Quod ad vos attinet, tri-
buni plebis, minasque vestras, ne ego libenter experirer,
quam non plus in iis iuris quam in vobis animi esset; sed 6
nefas est tendere adversus auctoritatem senatus. Proinde
et vos desinite inter nostra certamina locum iniuriae quae-
rere, et collegae aut facient, quod censet senatus, aut, si
pertinacius tendent, dictatorem extemplo dicam, qui eos
abire magistratu cogat.' Quum omnium assensu compro- 7
bata oratio esset, gauderentque patres sine tribuniciae

B.C. 402. potestatis terriculis inventam esse aliam vim maiorem ad
8 coercendos magistratus, victi consensu omnium comitia tribunorum militum habuere, qui calendis Octobribus magistratum occiperent, seque ante eam diem magistratu abdicavere.

B.C. 401. *The war against Veii, Capena, Falerii, and the Volscians makes the burden of service and taxation heavy: the complaints are aggravated by suspicion of patrician influence in the cooptation of Tribunes of the plebs.*

Ch. 10. 1 L. Valerio Potito quartum, M. Furio Camillo iterum, M'. Aemilio Mamercino tertium, Cn. Cornelio Cosso iterum, K. Fabio Ambusto, L. Iulio Iulo tribunis militum consulari
2 potestate multa domi militiaeque gesta; nam et bellum multiplex fuit eodem tempore, ad Veios et ad Capenam et
3 ad Falerios et in Volscis, ut Anxur ab hostibus reciperaretur, et Romae simul dilectu, simul tributo conferendo laboratum est, et de tribunis plebi cooptandis contentio fuit, et haud parvum motum duo iudicia, eorum, qui paulo
4 ante consulari potestate fuerant, excivere. Omnium primum tribunis militum fuit, dilectum haberi; nec iuniores modo conscripti, sed seniores etiam coacti nomina dare,
5 ut urbis custodiam agerent. Quantum autem augebatur militum numerus, tanto maiore pecunia in stipendium opus erat, eaque tributo conficiebatur, invitis conferentibus, qui domi remanebant, quia tuentibus urbem opera quoque militari laborandum serviendumque rei publicae erat.
6 Haec, per se gravia, indigniora ut viderentur, tribuni plebis seditiosis contionibus faciebant, ideo aera militibus constituta esse arguendo, ut plebis partem militia, partem
7 tributo conficerent. Unum bellum annum iam tertium trahi et consulto male geri, ut diutius gerant. In quattuor deinde bella uno dilectu exercitus scriptos, et pueros quo-

que ac senes extractos. Iam non aestatis nec hiemis B.C. 401.
discrimen esse, ne ulla quies unquam miserae plebi sit; 8
quae nunc etiam vectigalis ad ultimum facta sit, ut, quum 9
confecta labore, vulneribus, postremo aetate corpora rettu-
lerint incultaque omnia diutino dominorum desiderio domi
invenerint, tributum ex affecta re familiari pendant aera-
que militaria, velut fenore accepta, multiplicia rei publicae
reddant. Inter dilectum tributumque et occupatos animos 10
maiorum rerum curis, comitiis tribunorum plebis numerus
expleri nequiit. Pugnatum inde, in loca vacua ut patricii
cooptarentur. Postquam obtineri non poterat, tamen 11
labefactandae legis [tribuniciae] causa effectum est, ut
cooptarentur tribuni plebis C. Lacerius et M. Acutius,
haud dubie patriciorum opibus.

§ 1. *Cn. Trebonius declares that the lex Trebonia has been violated, and rouses indignation against patricians and Tribunes of the plebs: § 4. whereupon three of the latter divert the attack upon Sergius and Verginius, who are brought to trial for their misconduct before Veii.* Ch. 11.

Fors ita tulit, ut eo anno tribunus plebis Cn. Trebonius 1
esset, qui nomini ac familiae debitum praestare videretur
Treboniae legis patrocinium. Is, quod petissent patres 2
quondam primo incepto repulsi, tandem [tribunos mili-
tum] expugnasse vociferans, legem Treboniam sublatam
et cooptatos tribunos plebis non suffragiis populi, sed im-
perio patriciorum; eo revolvi rem, ut aut patricii aut
patriciorum asseclae habendi tribuni plebis sint: eripi sa- 3
cratas leges, extorqueri tribuniciam potestatem; id fraude
patriciorum, scelere ac proditione collegarum factum
arguere. Quum arderent invidia non patres modo, sed 4
etiam tribuni plebis, cooptati pariter et qui cooptaverant,
tum ex collegio tres, P. Curatius, M. Metilius, M. Minucius,

B.C. 401. trepidi rerum suarum, in Sergium Verginiumque, prioris
anni tribunos militares, incurrunt; in eos ab se iram
5 plebis invidiamque die dicta avertunt. Quibus dilectus,
quibus tributum, quibus diutina militia longinquitasque
belli sit gravis, qui clade accepta ad Veios doleant, qui
amissis liberis, fratribus, propinquis, affinibus lugubres
domos habeant, iis publici privatique doloris exsequendi
ius potestatemque ex duobus noxiis capitibus datam ab se
6 memorant. Omnium namque malorum in Sergio Vergi-
nioque causas esse; nec id accusatorem magis arguere
quam fateri reos, qui noxii ambo alter in alterum causam
conferant, fugam Sergii Verginius, Sergius proditionem
7 increpans Verginii. Quorum adeo incredibilem amentiam
fuisse, ut multo veri similius sit, compecto eam rem et
8 communi fraude patriciorum actam. Ab his et prius
datum locum Veientibus ad incendenda opera belli tra-
hendi causa, et nunc proditum exercitum, tradita Faliscis
9 Romana castra. Omnia fieri, ut consenescat ad Veios
iuventus, nec de agris nec de aliis commodis plebis ferre
ad populum tribuni frequentiaque urbana celebrare ac-
10 tiones et resistere conspirationi patriciorum possint. Prae-
iudicium iam de reis et ab senatu et ab populo Romano
11 et ab ipsorum collegis factum esse; nam et senatus con-
sulto eos ab re publica remotos esse, et recusantes
abdicare se magistratu dictatoris metu ab collegis coercitos
esse, et populum Romanum tribunos creasse, qui non
idibus Decembribus, die sollemni, sed extemplo calendis
Octobribus magistratum occiperent, quia stare diutius res
12 publica his manentibus in magistratu non posset; et tamen
eos, tot iudiciis confossos praedamnatosque, venire ad
populi iudicium et existimare, defunctos se esse satisque
poenarum dedisse, quod duobus mensibus citius privati

facti sint, neque intelligere, nocendi sibi diutius tum potes- **B.C. 401.**
tatem ereptam esse, non poenam irrogatam; quippe et 13
collegis abrogatum imperium, qui certe nihil deliquissent.
Illos repeterent animos Quirites, quos recenti clade ac- 14
cepta habuissent, quum fuga trepidum, plenum vulnerum,
cum pavore incidentem portis exercitum viderint, non
fortunam aut quemquam deorum, sed hos duces accusan-
tem. Pro certo se habere, neminem in contione stare, 15
qui illo die non caput, domum fortunasque L. Verginii ac
M'. Sergii sit exsecratus detestatusque. Minime convenire, 16
quibus iratos quisque deos precatus sit, in iis sua potestate,
quum liceat et oporteat, non uti. Nunquam deos ipsos
admovere nocentibus manus; satis esse, si occasione ulcis-
cendi laesos arment.

§ 1. *Sergius and Verginius are condemned to pay heavy fines.* § 3. **Ch. 12.**
The Tribunes of the plebs propose an agrarian law, and try to prevent the war-tax being raised for such ineffectual campaigns: but waive their opposition when for the first time a plebeian, P. Licinius Calvus, is elected Military Tribune.

His orationibus incitata plebs denis millibus aeris 1
gravis reos condemnat, nequicquam Sergio Martem com-
munem belli fortunamque accusante, Verginio deprecante,
ne infelicior domi quam militiae esset. In hos versa ira 2
populi cooptationis tribunorum fraudisque contra legem
Treboniam factae memoriam obscuram fecit. Victores 3
tribuni, ut praesentem mercedem iudicii plebes haberet,
legem agrariam promulgant, tributumque conferri pro-
hibent, quum tot exercitibus stipendio opus esset, resque 4
militia ita prospere gererentur, ut nullo bello veniretur ad
exitum spei. Namque Veiis castra, quae amissa erant,
recuperata castellis praesidiisque firmabantur; praeerant
tribuni militum M'. Aemilius et K. Fabius. A M. Furio 5

B.C. 401. in Faliscis et *a* Cn. Cornelio in Capenate agro hostes
nulli extra moenia inventi; praedae actae incendiisque
villarum ac frugum vastati fines; oppida *nec* oppugnata
6 nec obsessa sunt. At in Volscis depopulato agro Anxur
nequicquam oppugnatum, loco alto situm, et postquam
vis irrita erat, vallo fossaque obsideri coeptum; Valerio
7 Potito Volsci provincia evenerat. Hoc statu militarium
rerum, seditio intestina maiore mole coorta, quam bella
tractabantur; et quum tributum conferri per tribunos non
posset, nec stipendium imperatoribus mitteretur, aeraque
militaria flagitaret miles, haud procul erat, quin castra
8 quoque urbanae seditionis contagione turbarentur. Inter
has iras plebis in patres, quum tribuni plebi nunc
illud tempus esse dicerent stabiliendae libertatis et
ab Sergiis Verginiisque ad plebeios viros fortes ac
9 strenuos transferendi summi honoris, non tamen ultra
processum est, quam ut unus ex plebe, usurpandi
B.C. 400. iuris causa, P. Licinius Calvus tribunus militum consulari
10 potestate crearetur; ceteri patricii creati. P. Manlius, L.
Titinius, P. Maelius, L. Furius Medullinus, L. Publilius
11 Volscus. Ipsa plebes mirabatur, se tantam rem obtinuisse,
non is modo, qui creatus erat, vir nullis ante honoribus
12 usus, vetus tantum senator et aetate iam gravis; nec satis
constat, cur primus ac potissimus ad novum delibandum
honorem sit habitus. Alii Cn. Cornelii fratris, qui tribunus
militum priore anno fuerat triplexque stipendium equitibus
dederat, gratia extractum ad tantum honorem credunt,
alii orationem ipsum tempestivam de concordia ordinum,
13 patribus plebique gratam, habuisse. Hac victoria comitio-
rum exsultantes tribuni plebis, quod maxime rem publicam
impediebat, de tributo remiserunt. Collatum obedienter
missumque ad exercitum est.

§ 1. *Anxur is recovered. Five plebeian Military Tribunes are elected.* **B.C. 400.**
§ 4. *The Romans are driven by plague, following on a hard winter, to consult the Sibylline books, and celebrate a* lectisternium. § 9. *A combined attack of the Etruscan armies at Veii is defeated.*

Anxur in Volscis brevi receptum est, neglectis die festo 1 Ch. 13.
custodiis urbis. Insignis annus hieme gelida ac nivosa
fuit, adeo ut viae clausae, Tiberis innavigabilis fuerit.
Annona ex ante convecta copia nihil mutavit. Et quia P. 2
Licinius, ut ceperat haud tumultuose magistratum maiore
gaudio plebis quam indignatione patrum, ita etiam gessit,
dulcedo invasit proximis comitiis tribunorum militum ple-
beios creandi. Unus M. Veturius ex patriciis candidatis 3
locum tenuit; plebeios alios tribunos militum consulari
potestate omnes fere centuriae dixere, M. Pomponium, Cn.
Duillium, Voleronem Publilium, Cn. Genucium, L. Atilium. **B.C. 399.**
Tristem hiemem sive ex intemperie caeli, raptim mutatione 4
in contrarium facta, sive alia qua de causa gravis pestilens-
que omnibus animalibus aestas excepit; cuius insanabili 5
pernicie quando nec causa nec finis inveniebatur, libri
Sibyllini ex senatus consulto aditi sunt. Duumviri sacris 6
faciundis, lectisternio tunc primum in urbe Romana facto,
per dies octo Apollinem Latonamque, Dianam et Herculem,
Mercurium atque Neptunum tribus, quam amplissime tum
apparari poterat, stratis lectis placavere. Privatim quoque 7
id sacrum celebratum est. Tota urbe patentibus ianuis
promiscuoque usu rerum omnium in propatulo posito,
notos ignotosque passim advenas in hospitium ductos
ferunt, et cum inimicis quoque benigne ac comiter
sermones habitos; iurgiis ac litibus temperatum; vinctis
quoque dempta in eos dies vincula; religioni deinde fuisse, 8
quibus eam opem dii tulissent, vinciri. Interim ad Veios 9

B.C. 399. terror multiplex fuit, tribus in unum bellis collatis. Namque eodem, quo antea, modo circa munimenta, quum repente Capenates Faliscique subsidio venissent, adversus tres
10 exercitus ancipiti proelio pugnatum est. Ante omnia adiuvit memoria damnationis Sergii ac Verginii. Itaque e maioribus castris, unde antea cessatum fuerat, brevi spatio circumductae copiae Capenates in vallum Romanum
11 versos ab tergo aggrediuntur; inde pugna coepta et Faliscis intulit terrorem, trepidantesque eruptio ex castris opportune facta avertit. Repulsos deinde insecuti victores
12 ingentem ediderunt caedem; nec ita multo post iam palantes veluti † forte oblati populatores Capenatis agri
13 reliquias pugnae absumpsere. Et Veientium refugientes in urbem multi ante portas caesi, dum prae metu, ne simul Romanus irrumperet, obiectis foribus extremos suorum exclusere.

Ch. 14. § 1. *The patricians attribute the plague to the anger of the gods, and induce the people to elect six patricians, eminent men, to the Military Tribunate.* § 6. *The war is carried on by raids.*

1 Haec eo anno acta; et iam comitia tribunorum militum aderant, quorum prope maior patribus quam belli cura erat, quippe non communicatum modo cum plebe, sed
2 prope amissum cernentibus summum imperium. Itaque clarissimis viris ex composito praeparatis ad petendum, quos praetereundi verecundiam crederent fore, nihilo minus ipsi, perinde ac si omnes candidati essent, cuncta experientes, non homines modo, sed deos etiam exciebant,
3 in religionem vertentes comitia biennio habita: priore anno intolerandam hiemem prodigiisque divinis similem
4 coortam, proximo non prodigia, sed iam eventus: pestilentiam agris urbique illatam haud dubia ira deum, quos

pestis eius arcendae causa placandos esse in libris fatalibus **B.C. 399.** inventum sit; comitiis, auspicato quae fierent, indignum dis visum honores vulgari discriminaque gentium confundi. Praeterquam maiestate petentium, religione etiam 5 attoniti homines patricios omnes, partem magnam honoratissimum quemque, tribunos militum consulari potestate creavere, L. Valerium Potitum quintum, M. Valerium Maximum, M. Furium Camillum iterum, L. Furium Medullinum tertium, Q. Servilium Fidenatem iterum, Q. **B.C. 398.** Sulpicium Camerinum iterum. His tribunis ad Veios 6 nihil admodum memorabile actum est; tota vis in populationibus fuit. Duo summi imperatores, Potitus a Faleriis, 7 Camillus a Capena praedas ingentes egere, nulla incolumi relicta re, cui ferro aut igni noceri posset.

§ 1. *Among other prodigies, the Alban lake rises unusually high: and the Romans send to Delphi for explanation.* § 4. *Meanwhile a Veientine soothsayer prophesies that Veii cannot be taken till the Alban lake is drained.* **Ch. 15.**

Prodigia interim multa nuntiari, quorum pleraque, et 1 quia singuli auctores erant, parum credita spretaque, et quia, hostibus Etruscis, per quos ea procurarent, haruspices non erant; in unum omnium curae versae sunt, 2 quod lacus in Albano nemore sine ullis caelestibus aquis causave qua alia, quae rem miraculo eximeret, in altitudinem insolitam crevit. Quidnam eo di portenderent 3 prodigio, missi sciscitatum oratores ad Delphicum oraculum. Sed propior interpres fatis oblatus senior quidam 4 Veiens, qui inter cavillantes in stationibus ac custodiis milites Romanos Etruscosque vaticinantis in modum cecinit, priusquam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa foret, nunquam potiturum Veiis Romanum. Quod primo velut 5 temere iactum sperni, agitari deinde sermonibus coeptum

B.C. 398. est, donec unus ex statione Romana percontatus proximum oppidanorum, iam per longinquitatem belli commercio
6 sermonum facto, quisnam is esset, qui per ambages de lacu Albano iaceret, postquam audivit, haruspicem esse, vir haud intacti religione animi, causatus de privati portenti procuratione, si operae illi esset, consulere velle, ad
7 colloquium vatem elicuit. Quumque progressi ambo a suis longius essent inermes sine ullo metu, praevalens iuvenis Romanus senem infirmum in conspectu omnium raptum, nequicquam tumultuantibus Etruscis, ad suos
8 transtulit. Qui quum perductus ad imperatorem, inde Romam ad senatum missus esset, sciscitantibus, quidnam
9 id esset, quod de lacu Albano docuisset, respondit, profecto iratos deos Veienti populo illo fuisse die, quo sibi eam mentem obiecissent, ut excidium patriae fatale pro-
10 deret. Itaque, quae tum cecinerit divino spiritu instinctus, ea se nec, ut indicta sint, revocare posse, et tacendo forsitan, quae di immortales vulgari velint, haud minus quam
11 celanda effando nefas contrahi. Sic igitur libris fatalibus, sic disciplina Etrusca traditum esse, quando aqua Albana abundasset, tum, si eam Romanus rite emisisset, victoriam de Veientibus dari; antequam id fiat, deos moenia Veien-
12 tium deserturos non esse. Exsequebatur inde, quae sollemnis derivatio esset; sed auctorem levem nec satis fidum super tanta re patres rati decrevere, legatos sortesque oraculi Pythici exspectandas.

Ch. 16. § 1. *New Military Tribunes are elected.* § 2. *The people of Tarquinii, seeing Rome distracted by war with Volscians and Aequians, ravage the Roman territory with a flying column, which is cut off by a force raised in Rome without a regular levy.* § 8. *The answer brought from Delphi agrees with the Veientine's prophecy.*

1 Priusquam a Delphis oratores redirent Albanive pro-

digii piacula invenirentur, novi tribuni militum consulari
potestate, L. Iulius Iulus, L. Furius Medullinus quartum, B.C. 397.
L. Sergius Fidenas, A. Postumius Regillensis, P. Cornelius 2
Maluginensis, A. Manlius, magistratum inierunt. Eo anno
Tarquinienses novi hostes exorti. Quia multis simul bellis,
Volscorum ad Anxur, ubi praesidium obsidebatur, Aequo-
rum ad Lavicos, qui Romanam ibi coloniam oppugnabant,
ad hoc Veienti quoque et Falisco et Capenati bello occu-
patos videbant Romanos, nec intra muros quietiora ne-
gotia esse certaminibus patrum ac plebis, inter haec locum 3
iniuriae rati esse, praedatum in agrum Romanum cohortes
expeditas mittunt: aut enim passuros inultam eam in-
iuriam Romanos, ne novo bello se onerarent, aut exiguo
eoque parum valido exercitu persecuturos. Romanis 4
indignitas maior quam cura populationis Tarquiniensium
fuit; eo nec magno conatu suscepta nec in longum dilata
res est. A. Postumius et L. Iulius non iusto dilectu 5
(etenim ab tribunis plebis impediebantur), sed prope
voluntariorum, quos adhortando incitaverant, coacta manu,
per agrum Caeretem obliquis tramitibus egressi, redeuntes
a populationibus gravesque praeda Tarquinienses oppres-
sere. Multos mortales obtruncant, omnes exuunt im- 6
pedimentis, et receptis agrorum suorum spoliis Romam
revertuntur. Biduum ad recognoscendas res datum do- 7
minis; tertio incognita (erant autem ea pleraque hostium
ipsorum) sub hasta veniere, quodque inde redactum, mili-
tibus est divisum. Cetera bella, maximeque Veiens, 8
incerti exitus erant. Iamque Romani, desperata ope hu-
mana, fata et deos spectabant, quum legati ab Delphis
venerunt, sortem oraculi afferentes congruentem responso
captivi vatis: 'Romane, aquam Albanam cave lacu con- 9
tineri, cave in mare manare suo flumine sinas; emissam

B.C. 397. per agros rigabis, dissipatamque rivis exstingues; tum tu
10 insiste audax hostium muris, memor, quam per tot annos obsides urbem, ex ea tibi his, quae nunc panduntur, fatis
11 victoriam datam. Bello perfecto, donum amplum victor ad mea templa portato, sacraque patria, quorum omissa cura est, instaurata, ut assolet, facito.'

Ch. 17. § 1. *It is discovered that the election of the Military Tribunes, and, therefore, the celebration of the Alban festival, was irregular: and accordingly the tribunes resign and three interreges are appointed.* § 5. *The Tribunes of the plebs interrupt the elections till it is agreed to elect a majority of plebeians.* § 6. *The Etruscans hold a council at the temple of Voltumna, and allow volunteers to help Veii: the fear of the Gauls prevents them doing more.*

1 Ingens inde haberi captivus vates coeptus, eumque adhibere tribuni militum Cornelius Postumiusque ad prodigii Albani procurationem ac deos rite placandos coepere;
2 inventumque tandem est, ubi neglectas caerimonias intermissumve sollemne dii arguerent: nihil profecto aliud esse, quam magistratus vitio creatos Latinas sacrumque in
3 Albano monte non rite concepisse; unam expiationem eorum esse, ut tribuni militum abdicarent se magistratu, auspicia de integro repeterentur et interregnum iniretur.
4 Ea ita facta sunt ex senatus consulto. Interreges tres deinceps fuere, L. Valerius, Q. Servilius Fidenas, M. Furius
5 Camillus. Nunquam desitum interim turbari, comitia interpellantibus tribunis plebis, donec convenisset prius, ut
6 maior pars tribunorum militum ex plebe crearetur. Quae dum aguntur, concilia Etruriae ad fanum Voltumnae habita, postulantibusque Capenatibus ac Faliscis, ut Veios communi animo consilioque omnes Etruriae populi ex
7 obsidione eriperent, responsum est, antea se id Veien-

tibus negasse, quia, unde consilium non petissent super **B.C. 397.** tanta re, auxilium petere non deberent; nunc iam pro se fortunam suam illis negare. Invasisse in eam partem 8 Etruriae gentem invisitatam; novos accolas Gallos esse, cum quibus nec pax satis fida nec bellum pro certo sit. Sanguini tamen nominique et praesentibus periculis con- 9 sanguineorum id dari, ut, si qui iuventutis suae voluntate ad id bellum eant, non impediant. Eum magnum ad- 10 venisse hostium numerum fama Romae erat, eoque mitescere discordiae intestinae metu communi, ut fit, coeptae.

§ 1. *At the election for Military Tribunate, P. Licinius Calvus is* **Ch. 18.** *elected without standing, along with some of his former colleagues. Calvus is allowed to hand on the honour to his son.* § 7. *Titinius and Genucius, by careless strategy in Etruria, throw Rome and the camp at Veii into great panic.*

Haud invitis patribus P. Licinium Calvum praerogativa 1 tribunum militum non petentem creat, moderationis expertae in priore magistratu virum, ceterum iam tum exactae aetatis; omnesque deinceps ex collegio eiusdem 2 anni refici apparebat, L. Titinium, *Q. Manlium*, P. Mae- **B.C. 396.** nium, Cn. Genucium, L. Atilium. Qui priusquam renuntiarentur iure vocatis tribubus, permissu interregis P. Licinius Calvus ita verba fecit: 'Omen concordiae, Quirites, 3 rei maxime in hoc tempus utilis, memoria nostri magistratus vos his comitiis petere in insequentem annum video; sed collegas eosdem reficitis, etiam usu meliores factos; 4 me iam non eundem, sed umbram nomenque P. Licinii relictum videtis. Vires corporis affectae, sensus oculorum atque aurium hebetes, memoria labat, vigor animi obtusus. En vobis' inquit 'iuvenem,' filium tenens, 'effigiem atque 5 imaginem eius, quem vos antea tribunum militum ex plebe primum fecistis. Hunc ego institutum disciplina mea

B.C. 396. vicarium pro me rei publicae do dicoque, vosque quaeso,
Quirites, delatum mihi ultro honorem huic petenti, meis
6 quoque pro eo adiectis precibus, mandetis.' Datum id
petenti patri, filiusque eius P. Licinius tribunus militum
consulari potestate cum iis, quos supra scripsimus, decla-
7 ratus. Titinius Genuciusque tribuni militum profecti ad-
versus Faliscos Capenatesque, dum bellum maiore animo
8 gerunt quam consilio, praecipitavere in insidias. Genucius
morte honesta temeritatem luens ante signa inter primores
cecidit; Titinius in editum tumulum ex multa trepidatione
militibus collectis aciem restituit; nec se tamen aequo
9 loco hosti commisit. Plus ignominiae erat quam cladis
acceptum, quae prope in cladem ingentem vertit; tantum
inde terroris non Romae modo, quo multiplex fama perve-
10 nerat, sed in castris quoque fuit ad Veios. Aegre ibi miles
retentus a fuga est, quum pervasisset castra rumor, ducibus
exercituque caeso victorem Capenatem ac Faliscum Etru-
riaeque omnem iuventutem haud procul inde abesse.
11 His tumultuosiora Romae, iam castra ad Veios oppugnari,
iam partem hostium tendere ad urbem agmine infesto,
crediderant; concursumque in muros est, et matronarum,
12 quas ex domo conciverat publicus pavor, obsecrationes
in templis factae, precibusque ab dis petitum, ut exitium
ab urbis tectis templisque ac moenibus Romanis arcerent,
Veiosque eum averterent terrorem, si sacra renovata rite,
si procurata prodigia essent.

Ch. 19. § 1. *Meanwhile the Alban lake has been drained. M. Furius Camillus is named Dictator, and restores discipline and confidence.* § 5. *The Latins and Hernicans promise help. Camillus defeats the Falisci and Capenates.* § 9. *The siege is pressed at Veii and a mine constructed: the soldiers relieving one another.*

1 Iam ludi Latinaeque instauratae erant, iam ex lacu

Albano aqua emissa in agros, Veiisque fata appetebant. **B.C. 396.**
Igitur fatalis dux ad excidium illius urbis servandaeque 2
patriae, M. Furius Camillus dictator dictus magistrum
equitum P. Cornelium Scipionem dixit. Omnia repente 3
mutaverat imperator mutatus; alia spes, alius animus
hominum, fortuna quoque alia urbis videri. Omnium 4
primum in eos, qui a Veiis in illo pavore fugerant, more
militari animadvertit, effecitque, ne hostis maxime timen-
dus militi esset. Deinde indicto dilectu in diem certam,
ipse interim Veios ad confirmandos militum animos inter-
currit; inde Romam ad scribendum novum exercitum 5
redit, nullo detrectante militiam. Peregrina etiam iuventus,
Latini Hernicique, operam suam pollicentes ad id bellum
venere; quibus quum gratias in senatu egisset dictator, 6
satis iam omnibus ad id bellum paratis, ludos magnos ex
senatus consulto vovit Veiis captis se facturum aedemque
Matutae Matris refectam dedicaturum, iam ante ab rege
Ser. Tullio dedicatam. Profectus cum exercitu ab urbe 7
exspectatione hominum maiore quam spe, in agro primum
Nepesino cum Faliscis et Capenatibus signa confert.
Omnia ibi summa ratione consilioque acta fortuna etiam, 8
ut fit, secuta est. Non proelio tantum fudit hostes, sed
castris quoque exuit ingentique praeda est potitus; cuius
pars maxima ad quaestorem redacta est, haud ita multum
militi datum. Inde ad Veios exercitus ductus, densioraque 9
castella facta, et a procursationibus, quae multae temere
inter murum ac vallum fiebant, edicto, ne quis iniussu
pugnaret, ad opus milites traducti. Operum fuit omnium 10
longe maximum ac laboriosissimum cuniculus in arcem
hostium agi coeptus. Quod ne intermitteretur opus, neu 11
sub terra continuus labor eosdem conficeret, in partes sex
munitorum numerum divisit; senae horae in orbem operi

B.C. 396. attributae sunt; nocte ac die nunquam ante omissum, quam in arcem viam facerent.

Ch. 20. *Camillus, seeing the capture of Veii imminent, consults the Senate as to the disposal of the spoils: and it is decided, on the proposal of P. Licinius, that all who go to Veii shall share in them. App. Claudius had proposed to pay all into the treasury, and so relieve taxation.*

1 Dictator quum iam in manibus videret victoriam esse, urbem opulentissimam capi, tantumque praedae fore, quantum non omnibus in unum collatis ante bellis fuisset,
2 ne quam inde aut militum iram ex malignitate praedae partitae aut invidiam apud patres ex prodiga largitione
3 caperet, litteras ad senatum misit, deum immortalium benignitate, suis consiliis, patientia militum Veios iam fore in potestate populi Romani; quid de praeda faciendum
4 censerent? Duae senatum distinebant sententiae, senis P. Licinii, quem primum dixisse, a filio interrogatum, ferunt, edici palam placere populo, ut, qui particeps esse
5 praedae vellet, in castra Veios iret, altera App. Claudii, qui largitionem novam, prodigam, inaequalem, inconsultam arguens, si semel nefas ducerent, captam ex hostibus in aerario exhausto bellis pecuniam esse, auctor erat stipendii ex ea pecunia militi numerandi, ut eo minus tributi plebes
6 conferret; eius enim doni societatem sensuras aequaliter omnium domos, non avidas in direptiones manus otiosorum urbanorum praerepturas fortium bellatorum praemia esse, quum ita ferme eveniat, ut segnior sit praedator, ut quisque laboris periculique praecipuam petere partem
7 soleat. Licinius contra suspectam et invisam semper eam pecuniam fore aiebat, causasque criminum ad plebem,
8 seditionum inde ac legum novarum praebituram; satius igitur esse, reconciliari eo dono plebis animos, exhaustis

atque exinanitis tributo tot annorum succurri, et sentire **B.C. 396.**
praedae fructum ex eo bello, in quo prope consenuerint. Gratius id fore laetiusque, quod quisque sua manu ex hoste captum domum rettulerit, quam si multiplex alterius arbitrio accipiat. Ipsum dictatorem fugere invidiam ex 9
eo criminaque; eo delegasse ad senatum; senatum quoque debere reiectam rem ad se permittere plebi ac pati habere, quod cuique fors belli dederit. Haec tutior visa sententia 10
est, quae popularem senatum faceret. Edictum itaque est, ad praedam Veientem, quibus videretur, in castra ad dictatorem proficiscerentur.

§ 1. *The dictator, after a prayer to Apollo and to Juno, surprises the city: which is taken with much slaughter and plunder, after a siege of ten years.* § 14. *Camillus prays the gods to look kindly on his fortune.* **Ch. 21.**

Ingens profecta multitudo replevit castra. Tum dic- 1
tator auspicato egressus, quum edixisset, ut arma milites caperent, 'Tuo ductu' inquit 'Pythice Apollo, tuoque nu- 2
mine instinctus pergo ad delendam urbem Veios, tibique hinc decimam partem praedae voveo. Te simul, Iuno re- 3
gina, quae nunc Veios colis, precor, ut nos victores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare, ubi te dignum amplitudine tua templum accipiat.' Haec precatus, super- 4
ante multitudine, ab omnibus locis urbem aggreditur, quo minor ab cuniculo ingruentis periculi sensus esset. Vei- 5
entes ignari, se iam a suis vatibus, iam ab externis oraculis proditos, iam in partem praedae suae vocatos deos, alios votis ex urbe sua evocatos hostium templa novasque sedes spectare, seque ultimum illum diem agere, nihil minus timentes quam, subrutis cuniculo moenibus, arcem iam 6
plenam hostium esse, in muros pro se quisque armati discurrunt, mirantes, quidnam id esset, quod, quum tot 7

B.C. 396. per dies nemo se ab stationibus Romanus movisset, tum
velut repentino icti furore improvidi currerent ad muros.
8 Inseritur huic loco fabula, immolante rege Veientium
vocem haruspicis, dicentis, qui eius hostiae exta prose-
cuisset, ei victoriam dari, exauditam in cuniculo movisse
Romanos milites, ut adaperto cuniculo exta raperent et
9 ad dictatorem ferrent. Sed in rebus tam antiquis, si, quae
similia veris sint, pro veris accipiantur, satis habeam; haec
ad ostentationem scenae gaudentis miraculis aptiora quam
ad fidem neque affirmare neque refellere operae pretium
10 est. Cuniculus delectis militibus eo tempore plenus in
aedem Iunonis, quae in Veientana arce erat, armatos
repente edidit, et pars aversos in muris invadunt hostes,
pars claustra portarum revellunt, pars, quum ex tectis saxa
tegulaeque a mulieribus ac servitiis iacerentur, inferunt
11 ignes. Clamor omnia variis terrentium ac paventium
vocibus, mixto mulierum ac puerorum ploratu, complet.
12 Momento temporis deiectis ex muro undique armatis pate-
factisque portis, quum alii agmine irruerent, alii desertos
scanderent muros, urbs hostibus impletur; omnibus locis
13 pugnatur; deinde, multa iam edita caede, senescit pugna,
et dictator praecones edicere iubet, ut ab inermi absti-
14 neatur. Is finis sanguinis fuit. Dedi inde inermes coepti,
et ad praedam miles permissu dictatoris discurrit. Quae
quum ante oculos eius aliquantum spe atque opinione
maior maiorisque pretii rerum ferretur, dicitur manus ad
15 caelum tollens precatus esse, ut, si cui deorum hominum-
que nimia sua fortuna populique Romani videretur, ut
eam invidiam lenire quam minimo suo privato incommodo
16 publicoque populi Romani liceret. Convertentem se inter
hanc venerationem traditur memoriae prolapsum cecidisse;
idque omen pertinuisse postea eventu rem coniectantibus

visum ad damnationem ipsius Camilli, captae deinde urbis **B.C. 396.**
Romanae, quod post paucos accidit annos, cladem. Atque 17
ille dies caede hostium ac direptione urbis opulentissimae
est consumptus.

§ 1. *The prisoners are sold for the benefit of the treasury: the people are ungrateful to Camillus.* § 3. *The Romans reverently remove the statue of Juno to the Aventine. Thus Veii fell, the wealthiest city of Etruria.* Ch. 22.

Postero die libera corpora dictator sub corona vendidit. 1
Ea sola pecunia in publicum redigitur, haud sine ira
plebis; et quod rettulere secum praedae, nec duci, qui ad
senatum, malignitatis auctores quaerendo, rem arbitrii sui
reiecisset, nec senatui, sed Liciniae familiae, ex qua filius 2
ad senatum rettulisset, pater tam popularis sententiae
auctor fuisset, acceptum referebant. Quum iam humanae 3
opes egestae [a] Veiis essent, amoliri tum deum dona
ipsosque deos, sed colentium magis quam rapientium
modo, coepere. Namque delecti ex omni exercitu iuvenes, 4
pure lautis corporibus, candida veste, quibus deportanda
Romam regina Iuno assignata erat, venerabundi templum
iniere, primo religiose admoventes manus, quod id signum 5
more Etrusco nisi certae gentis sacerdos attrectare non
esset solitus. Dein quum quidam, seu spiritu divino
tactus seu iuvenali ioco, 'Visne Romam ire, Iuno?' dixisset, annuisse ceteri deam conclamaverunt. Inde fabulae 6
adiectum est, vocem quoque dicentis velle auditam; motam
certe sede sua parvi molimenti adminiculis, sequentis modo
accepimus levem ac facilem tralatu fuisse, integramque in
Aventinum, aeternam sedem suam, quo vota Romani 7
dictatoris vocaverant, perlatam, ubi templum ei postea
idem, qui voverat, Camillus dedicavit. Hic Veiorum 8
occasus fuit, urbis opulentissimae Etrusci nominis, magni-

B.C. 396. tudinem suam vel ultima clade indicantis, quod decem aestates hiemesque continuas circumsessa, quum plus aliquanto cladium intulisset quam accepisset, postremo, iam fato quoque urgente, operibus tamen, non vi expugnata est.

Ch. 23. § 1. *At Rome there is great rejoicing, and the Senate decrees a thanksgiving of four days.* § 4. *Camillus triumphs in great state, and builds a temple to Juno on the Aventine.* § 8. *One-tenth of the spoils is given to Apollo.* § 12. *The Volscians and Aequians ask and obtain peace.*

1 Romam ut nuntiatum est Veios captos, quanquam et prodigia procurata fuerant et vatum responsa et Pythicae sortes notae, et, quantum humanis adiuvari consiliis potuerat res, ducem M. Furium, maximum imperatorum om-
2 nium, legerant, tamen, quia tot annis varie ibi bellatum erat multaeque clades acceptae, velut ex insperato immensum gaudium fuit, et priusquam senatus decerneret,
3 plena omnia templa Romanarum matrum grates dis agentium erant. Senatus in quatriduum, quot dierum
4 nullo ante bello, supplicationes decernit. Adventus quoque dictatoris, omnibus ordinibus obviam effusis, celebratior quam ullius unquam antea fuit, triumphusque omnem consuetum honorandi diei illius modum aliquantum ex-
5 cessit. Maxime conspectus ipse est, curru equis albis iuncto urbem invectus, parumque id non civile modo, sed
6 humanum etiam visum. Iovis Solisque equis aequiperatum dictatorem in religionem etiam trahebant, triumphusque ob eam unam maxime rem clarior quam gratior fuit.
7 Tum Iunoni reginae templum in Aventino locavit, dedicavitque Matutae Matris; atque his divinis humanisque
8 rebus gestis, dictatura se abdicavit. Agi deinde de Apollinis dono coeptum. Cui se decimam vovisse praedae

partem quum diceret Camillus, pontifices solvendum re- **B.C. 396.**
ligione populum censerent, haud facile inibatur ratio 9
iubendi referre praedam populum, ut ex ea pars debita in
sacrum secerneretur. Tandem eo, quod lenissimum vide- 10
batur, decursum est, ut, qui se domumque religione
exsolvere vellet, quum sibimet ipse praedam aestimasset
suam, decimae pretium partis in publicum deferret, ut ex 11
eo donum aureum, dignum amplitudine templi ac numine
dei, ex dignitate populi Romani fieret. Ea quoque col- 12
latio plebis animos a Camillo alienavit. Inter haec pacifi-
catum legati a Volscis et Aequis venerunt, impetrataque
pax, magis ut fessa tam diutino bello acquiesceret civitas,
quam quod digni peterent.

§ 1. *Capena is reduced to sue for peace: but war against Falerii continues.* § 4. *Dissension in Rome is quieted by sending a colony to the Volscian land.* § 5. *but a proposal of the Tribunes of the plebs to migrate to Veii excites great opposition.* **Ch. 24.**

Veiis captis, sex tribunos militum consulari potestate 1
insequens annus habuit, duos P. Cornelios, Cossum et **B.C. 395.**
Scipionem, M. Valerium Maximum iterum, K. Fabium
Ambustum tertium, L. Furium Medullinum quintum, Q.
Servilium tertium. Corneliis Faliscum bellum, Valerio ac 2
Servilio Capenas sorte evenit. Ab iis non urbes vi aut
operibus tentatae, sed ager est depopulatus praedaeque
rerum agrestium actae; nulla felix arbor, nihil frugiferum
in agro relictum. Ea clades Capenatem populum subegit; 3
pax petentibus data; in Faliscis bellum restabat. Romae 4
interim multiplex seditio erat, cuius leniendae causa colo-
niam in Volscos, quo tria millia civium Romanorum
scriberentur, deducendam censuerant, triumvirique ad id
creati terna iugera et septunces viritim diviserant. Ea 5
largitio sperni coepta, quia spei maioris avertendae sola-

B.C. 395. tium obiectum censebant: cur enim relegari plebem in
Volscos, quum pulcherrima urbs Veii agerque Veientanus
in conspectu sit, uberior ampliorque Romano agro?
6 Urbem quoque urbi Romae vel situ vel magnificentia
publicorum privatorumque tectorum ac locorum praepone-
7 bant. Quin illa quoque actio movebatur, quae post cap-
tam utique Romam a Gallis celebratior fuit, transmigrandi
8 Veios. Ceterum partim plebi, partim senatui destinabant
habitandos Veios, duasque urbes communis rei publicae
9 incoli a populo Romano posse. Adversus quae quum
optimates ita tenderent, ut morituros se citius dicerent in
conspectu populi Romani quam quicquam earum rerum
10 rogaretur: quippe nunc in una urbe tantum dissensionum
esse; quid in duabus urbibus fore? victamne ut quisquam
victrici patriae praeferret sineretque, maiorem fortunam
11 captis esse Veiis, quam incolumibus fuerit? postremo se
relinqui a civibus in patria posse; ut relinquant patriam
atque cives, nullam vim unquam subacturam, et T. Sici-
nium (is enim ex tribunis plebis rogationis eius lator erat)
conditorem Veios sequantur, relicto deo Romulo, dei filio,
parente et auctore urbis Romae.

Ch. 25. § 1. *After violent dissension on this question, Camillus induces the people to complete the offering to Apollo.* § 8. *The women contribute their gold ornaments: and receive special privileges in return.* § 11. *But the conflict is renewed and the same men are re-elected Tribunes of the plebs.*

1 Haec quum foedis certaminibus agerentur (nam partem
tribunorum plebi patres in suam sententiam traxerant),
2 nulla res alia manibus temperare plebem cogebat quam
quod, ubi rixae committendae causa clamor ortus esset,
principes senatus primi turbae offerentes se peti feririque
3 atque occidi iubebant. Ab horum aetatibus dignitati-

busque et honoribus violandis dum abstinebatur, et ad B.C. 395.
reliquos similes conatus verecundia irae obstabat. Ca- 4
millus identidem omnibus locis contionabundus: Haud
mirum id quidem esse, furere civitatem, quae, damnata
voti, omnium rerum potiorem curam quam religione se
exsolvendi habeat. Nihil de collatione dicere, stipis verius 5
quam decimae, quando ea se quisque privatim obligaverit,
liberatus sit populus. Enimvero illud se tacere suam con- 6
scientiam non pati, quod ex ea tantum praeda, quae rerum
moventium sit, decima designetur; urbis atque agri capti,
quae et ipsa voto contineantur, mentionem nullam fieri.
Quum ea disceptatio, anceps senatui visa, delegata ad 7
pontifices esset, adhibito Camillo visum collegio, quod eius
ante conceptum votum Veientium fuisset et post votum in
potestatem populi Romani venisset, eius partem decimam
Apollini sacram esse. Ita in aestimationem urbs agerque 8
venit. Pecunia ex aerario prompta, et tribunis militum
consularibus, ut aurum ex ea coemerent, negotium datum.
Cuius quum copia non esset, matronae, coetibus ad eam
rem consultandam habitis, communi decreto pollicitae
tribunis militum aurum, [et] omnia ornamenta sua in
aerarium detulerunt. Grata ea res ut quae maxime sena- 9
tui unquam fuit; honoremque ob eam munificentiam
ferunt matronis habitum, ut pilento ad sacra ludosque,
carpentis festo profestoque uterentur. Pondere ab singulis 10
auri accepto aestimato[que], ut pecuniae solverentur, cra-
teram auream fieri placuit, quae donum Apollini Delphos
portaretur. Simul ab religione animos remiserunt, in- 11
tegrant seditionem tribuni plebis; incitatur multitudo in
omnes principes, ante alios in Camillum: eum praedam 12
Veientanam publicando sacrandoque ad nihilum redegisse.
Absentes ferociter increpant; praesentium, quum se ultro

B.C. 395. iratis offerrent, verecundiam habent. Simul extrahi rem
13 ex eo anno viderunt, tribunos plebis latores legis in annum
eosdem reficiunt; et patres hoc idem de intercessoribus
legis annisi; ita tribuni plebis magna ex parte iidem
refecti.

Ch. 26. § 1. *Camillus is among the Military Tribunes of the year.* § 3. *The Tribunes of the plebs wait for an occasion against Camillus, who conducts the Faliscan campaign with success.* § 9. *Falerii is blockaded, but has large stores: and the blockade, but for an accident, would have been a long one.*

1 Comitiis tribunorum militum patres summa ope evice-
runt, ut M. Furius Camillus crearetur. Propter bella
B.C. 394. simulabant parari ducem; sed largitioni tribuniciae adver-
2 sarius quaerebatur. Cum Camillo creati tribuni militum
consulari potestate L. Furius Medullinus sextum, C. Aemi-
lius, L. Valerius Publicola, Sp. Postumius, P. Cornelius
3 iterum. Principio anni tribuni plebis nihil moverunt,
donec M. Furius Camillus in Faliscos, cui id bellum man-
datum erat, proficisceretur. Differendo deinde elanguit res,
et Camillo, quem adversarium maxime metuebant, gloria
4 in Faliscis crevit. Nam quum primo moenibus se hostes
tenerent, tutissimum id rati, populatione agrorum atque
5 incendiis villarum coegit eos egredi urbe. Sed timor
longius progredi prohibuit; mille fere passuum ab oppido
castra locant, nulla re alia fidentes ea satis tuta esse quam
difficultate aditus, asperis confragosisque circa et partim
6 artis, partim arduis viis. Ceterum Camillus, captivum in-
didem ex agris secutus ducem, castris multa nocte motis,
7 prima luce aliquanto superioribus locis se ostendit. Triarii
Romani muniebant; alius exercitus proelio intentus stabat.
Ibi impedire opus conatos hostes fundit fugatque; tan-
tumque inde pavoris Faliscis iniectum est, ut effusa fuga

castra sua, quae propiora erant, praelati urbem peterent. B.C. 394.
Multi caesi vulneratique, priusquam paventes portis inci- 8
derent. Castra capta; praeda ad quaestores redacta cum
magna militum ira; sed severitate imperii victi eandem
virtutem et oderant et mirabantur. Obsidio inde urbis et 9
munitiones, et interdum per occasionem impetus oppida-
norum in Romanas stationes proeliaque parva fieri, et teri
tempus, neutro inclinata spe, quum frumentum copiaeque
aliae ex ante convecto largius obsessis quam obsidentibus
suppeterent. Videbaturque aeque diuturnus futurus labor, 10
ac Veiis fuisset, ni fortuna imperatori Romano simul et
cognitae rebus bellicis virtutis specimen et maturam vic-
toriam dedisset.

§ 1. *A schoolmaster from Falerii betrays some young nobles to* **Ch. 27.**
Camillus, who sends them back. § 10. *The Faliscans are*
moved by this generosity to surrender, and are fined a year's pay
for the army.

Mos erat Faliscis eodem magistro liberorum et comite 1
uti, simulque plures pueri, quod hodie quoque in Graecia
manet, unius curae demandabantur. Principum liberos,
sicut fere fit, qui scientia videbatur praecellere, erudiebat.
Is quum in pace instituisset pueros ante urbem lusus exer- 2
cendique causa producere, nihil eo more per belli tempus
intermisso, [dum] modo brevioribus, modo longioribus
spatiis trahendo eos a porta, lusu sermonibusque variatis,
longius solito, ubi res dedit, progressus inter stationes eos
hostium castraque inde Romana in praetorium ad Camil-
lum perduxit. Ibi scelesto facinori scelestiorem sermonem 3
addit, Falerios se in manus Romanis tradidisse, quando 4
eos pueros, quorum parentes capita ibi rerum sint, in
potestatem dediderit. Quae ubi Camillus audivit, 'Non 5
ad similem' inquit 'tui nec populum nec imperatorem

B.C. 394. scelestus ipse cum scelesto munere venisti. Nobis cum
6 Faliscis, quae pacto fit humano, societas non est; quam
ingeneravit natura utrisque, est eritque. Sunt et belli,
sicut pacis, iura, iusteque ea non minus quam fortiter
7 didicimus gerere. Arma habemus non adversus eam
aetatem, cui etiam captis urbibus parcitur, sed adversus
armatos et ipsos, qui, nec laesi nec lacessiti a nobis, castra
8 Romana ad Veios oppugnarunt. Eos tu, quantum in te
fuit, novo scelere vicisti; ego Romanis artibus, virtute,
9 opere, armis, sicut Veios, vincam.' Denudatum deinde
eum, manibus post tergum illigatis, reducendum Falerios
pueris tradidit, virgasque eis, quibus proditorem agerent
10 in urbem verberantes, dedit. Ad quod spectaculum con-
cursu populi primum facto, deinde a magistratibus de re
nova vocato senatu, tanta mutatio animis est iniecta, ut,
qui modo efferati odio iraque Veientium exitum paene
quam Capenatium pacem mallent, apud eos pacem uni-
11 versa posceret civitas. Fides Romana, iustitia imperatoris
in foro, in curia celebrantur; consensuque omnium legati
ad Camillum in castra atque inde permissu Camilli Romam
12 ad senatum, qui dederent Falerios, proficiscuntur. Intro-
ducti ad senatum ita locuti traduntur: 'Patres conscripti,
victoria, cui nec deus nec homo quisquam invideat,
victi a vobis et imperatore vestro dedimus nos vobis,
rati, quo nihil victori pulchrius est, melius nos sub imperio
13 vestro quam legibus nostris victuros. Eventu huius belli
duo salutaria exempla prodita humano generi sunt: vos
fidem in bello quam praesentem victoriam maluistis; nos
14 fide provocati victoriam ultro detulimus. Sub dicione
vestra sumus; mittite, qui arma, qui obsides, qui urbem
15 patentibus portis accipiant. Nec vos fidei nostrae nec nos
imperii vestri paenitebit.' Camillo et ab hostibus et a

civibus gratiae actae. Faliscis in stipendium militum eius **B.C. 394.**
anni, ut populus Romanus tributo vacaret, pecunia im-
perata. Pace data, exercitus Romam reductus.

§ 1. *In deference to Camillus a golden bowl is sent to the god of* **Ch. 28.**
Delphi, but is taken on the way by pirates of Liparae, who send it forward on the advice of Timasitheus. § 5. *The Aequian war is carried on by Aemilius and Postumius with mixed success, ending in a Roman victory.*

Camillus meliore multo laude, quam quum triumph- 1
antem albi per urbem vexerant equi, insignis, iustitia
fideque hostibus victis, quum in urbem redisset, taciti eius
verecundiam non tulit senatus, quin sine mora voti libera-
retur. Crateramque auream donum Apollini Delphos 2
legati qui ferrent, L. Valerius, L. Sergius, A. Manlius
missi longa una nave, haud procul freto Siculo a piratis
Liparensium excepti devehuntur Liparas. Mos erat civi- 3
tatis velut publico latrocinio partam praedam dividere.
Forte eo anno in summo magistratu erat Timasitheus
quidam, Romanis vir similior quam suis; qui legatorum 4
nomen donumque et deum, cui mitteretur, et doni causam
veritus ipse multitudinem quoque, quae semper ferme
regenti est similis, religionis iustae implevit, adductosque
in publicum hospitium legatos cum praesidio etiam navium
Delphos prosecutus, Romam inde sospites restituit. Hos- 5
pitium cum eo senatus consulto est factum donaque
publice data. Eodem anno in Aequis varie bellatum, adeo
ut in incerto fuerit et apud ipsos exercitus et Romae,
vicissent victine essent. Imperatores Romani fuere ex 6
tribunis militum C. Aemilius, Sp. Postumius. Primo rem
communiter gesserunt; fusis inde acie hostibus, Aemilium
praesidio Verruginem obtinere placuit, Postumium fines
vastare. Ibi eum incomposito agmine negligentius ab re 7

B.C. 394. bene gesta euntem adorti Aequi, terrore iniecto, in proxi-
mos compulere tumulos; pavorque inde Verruginem etiam
8 ad praesidium alterum est perlatus. Postumius, suis in
tutum receptis, quum contione advocata terrorem incre-
paret ac fugam, fusos esse ab ignavissimo ac fugacissimo
hoste, conclamat universus exercitus, merito se ea audire
et fateri admissum flagitium, sed eosdem correcturos esse,
9 neque diuturnum id gaudium hostibus fore. Poscentes,
ut confestim inde ad castra hostium duceret (et in con-
spectu erant, posita in plano), nihil poenae recusabant, ni
10 ea ante noctem expugnassent. Collaudatos corpora
curare paratosque esse quarta vigilia iubet. Et hostes,
nocturnam fugam ex tumulo Romanorum ut ab ea via,
quae ferebat Verruginem, excluderent, fuere obvii; proe-
liumque ante lucem (sed luna pernox erat) commissum
11 est. [Et] haud incertius diurno proelium fuit; sed clamor
Verruginem perlatus, quum castra Romana crederent op-
pugnari, tantum iniecit pavoris, ut, nequicquam retinente
12 atque obsecrante Aemilio, Tusculum palati fugerent. Inde
fama Romam perlata est, Postumium exercitumque occisum.
Qui, ubi prima lux metum insidiarum effuse sequentibus
sustulit, quum perequitasset aciem promissa repetens,
tantum iniecit ardoris, ut non ultra sustinuerint impetum
13 Aequi. Caedes inde fugientium, qualis ubi ira magis
quam virtute res geritur, ad perniciem hostium facta est;
tristemque ab Tusculo nuntium, nequicquam exterrita
civitate, litterae a Postumio laureatae sequuntur, victoriam
populi Romani esse, Aequorum exercitum deletum.

§ 1. *The plebs re-elect the Tribunes who proposed the migration to Veii. The patricians retaliate by electing Consuls instead of Military Tribunes.* § 3. *Vitellia, a Roman colony, is taken by the Aequians, but L. Lucretius defeats them.* § 6. *Two Tribunes of the plebs are fined because they had vetoed their colleagues' proposal.* § 8. *Camillus declares that the plebs have overthrown the Tribunate.* **B.C. 394.**

Tribunorum plebis actiones quia nondum invenerant 1 **Ch. 29.**
finem, et plebs continuare latoribus legis tribunatum et patres reficere intercessores legis annisi sunt; sed plus suis comitiis plebs valuit; quem dolorem ulti patres sunt 2
senatus consulto facto, ut consules, invisus plebi magistratus, crearentur. Annum post quintum decimum creati consules L. Lucretius Flavus, Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus. **B.C. 393.**
Principio huius anni ferociter, quia nemo ex collegio in- 3
tercessurus erat, coortis ad perferendam legem tribunis plebis, nec segnius ob id ipsum consulibus resistentibus, omnique civitate in unam eam curam conversa, Vitelliam coloniam Romanam in suo agro Aequi expugnant. Colo- 4
norum pars maxima incolumis, quia nocte proditione oppidum captum liberam per aversa urbis fugam dederat, Romam perfugere. L. Lucretio consuli ea provincia 5
evenit. Is cum exercitu profectus acie hostes vincit victorque Romam ad maius aliquanto certamen redit. Dies dicta erat tribunis plebis biennii superioris A. Ver- 6
ginio et Q. Pomponio, quos defendi patrum consensu ad fidem senatus pertinebat; neque enim eos aut vitae ullo crimine alio aut gesti magistratus quisquam arguebat, praeterquam quod gratificantes patribus rogationi tribuniciae intercessissent. Vicit tamen gratiam senatus plebis 7
ira, et pessimo exemplo innoxii denis millibus gravis aeris condemnati sunt. Id aegre passi patres. Camillus palam 8
sceleris plebem arguere, quae iam in suos versa non

B.C. 393. intelligeret, se pravo iudicio de tribunis intercessionem sustulisse, intercessione sublata tribuniciam potestatem
9 evertisse. Nam quod illi sperarent, effrenatam licentiam eius magistratus patres laturos, falli eos. Si tribunicia vis tribunicio auxilio repelli nequeat, aliud telum patres in-
10 venturos esse. Consulesque increpabat, quod fide publica decipi tribunos eos taciti tulissent, qui senatus auctoritatem secuti essent. Haec propalam contionabundus in dies magis augebat iras hominum.

Ch. 30. § 1. *By the energy of Camillus, who beseeches them not to desert their city and their city's gods, the proposal to migrate to Veii is defeated by the vote of one tribe.* § 8. *The Senate decree a grant of Veientine land to the plebs.*

1 Senatum vero incitare adversus legem haud desistebat: ne aliter descenderent in forum, quum dies ferendae legis venisset, quam ut qui meminissent, sibi pro aris focisque et deum templis ac solo, in quo nati essent, dimicandum
2 fore. Nam quod ad se privatim attineat, si suae gloriae sibi inter dimicationem patriae meminisse sit fas, sibi amplum quoque esse, urbem ab se captam frequentari, quotidie se frui monumento gloriae suae et ante oculos habere urbem latam in triumpho suo, insistere omnes vestigiis
3 laudum suarum; sed nefas ducere, desertam ac relictam ab dis immortalibus incoli urbem, et in captivo solo habitare populum Romanum, et victrice patria victam mutari.
4 His adhortationibus principis concitati patres, senes iuvenesque quum ferretur lex, agmine facto in forum venerunt, po[illegible]sipatique per tribus, suos quisque tribules prensantes, [illegible]e cum lacrimis coepere, ne eam patriam, pro qua for[illegible]e felicissimeque ipsi ac patres eorum dimicassent, [illegible]nt, Capitolium, aedem Vestae, cetera circa templa [illegible]ostentantes; ne exsulem, extorrem populum Ro-

manum ab solo patrio ac diis penatibus in hostium B.C. 393.
urbem agerent, eoque rem adducerent, ut melius fuerit non capi Veios, ne Roma desereretur. Quia non vi 7
agebant, sed precibus, et inter preces multa deorum mentio erat, religiosum parti maximae fuit, et legem una plures tribus antiquarunt quam iusserunt. Adeoque ea 8
victoria laeta patribus fuit, ut postero die referentibus consulibus senatus consultum fieret, ut agri Veientani septena iugera plebi dividerentur, nec patribus familiae tantum, sed ut omnium in domo liberorum capitum ratio haberetur, vellentque in eam spem liberos tollere.

§ 1. *C. Valerius Petitus and M. Manlius are elected Consuls. Games are held, and the temple of Juno dedicated.* § 4. *A short campaign against the Aequians is followed by a new war with Vulsinii and Salpina.* § 7. *The Consuls resign on account of illness. After an interregnum Military Tribunes are elected. A new censor is appointed on the death of C. Julius.* Ch. 31.

Eo munere delenita plebe, nihil certatum est. quo minus 1
consularia comitia haberentur. Creati consules L. Vale- 2
rius Potitus, M. Manlius, cui Capitolino postea fuit cog- B.C. 392.
nomen. Hi consules magnos ludos facere, quos M. Furius dictator voverat Veienti bello. Eodem anno aedes Iunonis 3
reginae ab eodem dictatore eodemque bello vota dedicatur, celebratamque dedicationem ingenti matronarum studio tradunt. Bellum haud memorabile in Algido cum 4
Aequis gestum est, fusis hostibus prius paene, quam manus consererent. Valerio, quod perseverantior caedendi in fuga fuit, triumphus, Manlio, ut ovans ingrederetur urbem decretum est. Eodem anno novum bellum cum Vulsini- 5
ensibus exortum; quo propter famem pestilentiamque in agro Romano ex siccitate caloribusque nimiis ortam exer-

B.C. 392. citus duci nequivit. Ob quae Vulsinienses, Salpinatibus
adiunctis, superbia inflati ultro agros Romanos incursa-
6 vere; bellum inde duobus populis indictum. C. Iulius
censor decessit; in eius locum M. Cornelius suffectus,
quae res postea religioni fuit, quia eo lustro Roma est
7 capta; nec deinde unquam in demortui locum censor
sufficitur. Consulibusque morbo implicitis, placuit per
8 interregnum renovari auspicia. Itaque quum ex senatus
consulto consules magistratu se abdicassent, interrex cre-
atur M. Furius Camillus, qui P. Cornelium Scipionem, is
9 deinde L. Valerium Potitum interregem prodidit. Ab eo
creati sex tribuni militum consulari potestate, ut, etiamsi cui
eorum incommoda valetudo fuisset, copia magistratuum
rei publicae esset.

Ch. 32. § 1. *The people of Vulsinii are defeated and submit to Rome, and receive a truce for twenty years.* § 6. *The approach of the Gauls is miraculously foretold.* § 8. *Camillus brought to trial by the tribune L. Apuleius, goes into exile, and is fined.*

1 Calendis Quintilibus magistratum occepere L. Lucretius,
B.C. 391. Ser. Sulpicius, M. Aemilius, L. Furius Medullinus septi-
2 mum, Agrippa Furius, C. Aemilius iterum. Ex his L.
Lucretio et C. Aemilio Vulsinienses provincia evenit, Sal-
pinates Agrippae Furio et Ser. Sulpicio. Prius cum Vul-
3 siniensibus pugnatum est. Bellum numero hostium ingens,
certamine haud sane asperum fuit. Fusa primo concursu
acies; in fugam versa millia octo armatorum ab equitibus
4 interclusa, positis armis, in deditionem venerunt. Eius
belli fama effecit, ne se pugnae committerent Salpinates;
moenibus armati se tutabantur. Romani praedas passim
5 et ex Salpinati agro et ex Vulsiniensi, nullo eam vim
arcente, egerunt, donec Vulsiniensibus fessis bello ea con-
dicione, ut res populo Romano redderent stipendiumque

eius anni exercitui praestarent, in viginti annos indutiae **B.C. 391.**
datae. Eodem anno M. Caedicius de plebe nuntiavit tri- 6
bunis, se in Nova via, ubi nunc sacellum est supra aedem
Vestae, vocem noctis silentio audisse clariorem humana,
quae magistratibus dici iuberet, Gallos adventare. Id, ut 7
fit, propter auctoris humilitatem spretum et quod longinqua
eoque ignotior gens erat. Neque deorum modo monita
ingruente fato spreta, sed humanam quoque opem, quae
una erat, M. Furium ab urbe amovere. Qui, die dicta ab 8
L. Apuleio tribuno plebis propter praedam Veientanam,
filio quoque adolescente per idem tempus orbatus, quum,
accitis domum tribulibus et clientibus, quae magna pars
plebis erat, percontatus animos eorum responsum tulisset,
se collaturos, quanti damnatus esset, absolvere eum non 9
posse, in exsilium abiit, precatus ab diis immortalibus, si
innoxio sibi ea iniuria fieret, primo quoque tempore desi-
derium sui civitati ingratae facerent. Absens quindecim
millibus gravis aeris damnatur.

§ 1. *The people of Clusium ask for help against the Gauls, an old enemy in Northern Italy: now introduced into Southern Etruria by Arruns of Clusium.* § 7. *The Tuscans had had a wide empire by land and sea, with twelve cities on each side of the Appennines.* **Ch. 33.**

Expulso cive, quo manente, si quicquam humanorum 1
certi est, capi Roma non potuerat, adventante fatali urbi
clade, legati ab Clusinis veniunt, auxilium adversus Gallos
petentes. Eam gentem traditur fama dulcedine frugum 2
maximeque vini, nova tum voluptate, captam Alpes
transisse agrosque ab Etruscis ante cultos possedisse; [et] 3
invexisse in Galliam vinum illiciendae gentis causa Arrun-
tem Clusinum ira corruptae uxoris ab Lucumone, cui tutor
ipse fuerat, praepotente iuvene et a quo expeti poenae, nisi

B.C. 391. externa vis quaesita esset, nequirent; hunc transeuntibus
4 Alpes ducem auctoremque Clusium oppugnandi fuisse. Equidem haud abnuerim, Clusium Gallos ab Arrunte seu
5 quo alio Clusino adductos; sed eos, qui oppugnaverint Clusium, non fuisse, qui primi Alpes transierint, satis constat. Ducentis quippe annis ante, quam Clusium oppugnarent urbemque Romam caperent, in Italiam Galli
6 transcenderunt; nec cum his primum Etruscorum, sed multo ante cum iis, qui inter Appenninum Alpesque inco-
7 lebant, saepe exercitus Gallici pugnavere. Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium late terra marique opes patuere. Mari supero inferoque, quibus Italia insulae modo cingitur,
8 quantum potuerint, nomina sunt argumento, quod alterum Tuscum communi vocabulo gentis, alterum Atriaticum mare ab Atria, Tuscorum colonia, vocavere Italicae gentes,
9 Graeci eadem Tyrrhenum atque Adriaticum vocant. Ei in utrumque mare vergentes incoluere urbibus duodenis terras, prius cis Appenninum ad inferum mare, postea trans Appenninum totidem, quot capita originis erant,
10 coloniis missis, quae trans Padum omnia loca, excepto Venetorum angulo, qui sinum circumcolunt maris, usque
11 ad Alpes tenuere. Alpinis quoque ea gentibus haud dubie origo est, maxime Raetis, quos loca ipsa efferarunt, ne quid ex antiquo praeter sonum linguae, nec eum incorruptum, retinerent.

Ch. 34. § 1. *The immigration of the Gauls began in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, when the Celtic king Ambigatus sent his son Segovesus to the Hercynian forest, and Bellovesus to Italy.* § 6. *Bellovesus crossed the Alps, helped the Phocaean settlement at Massilia, and settled in the territory of the Insubres at Mediolanium.*

1 De transitu in Italiam Gallorum haec accepimus: Prisco Tarquinio Romae regnante, Celtarum, quae pars Galliae

tertia est, penes Bituriges summa imperii fuit; ii regem B.C. 391.
Celtico dabant. Ambigatus is fuit, virtute fortunaque 2
quum sua, tum publica praepollens, quod in imperio eius
Gallia adeo frugum hominumque fertilis fuit, ut abundans
multitudo vix regi videretur posse. Hic magno natu 3
ipse iam, exonerare praegravante turba regnum cupiens,
Bellovesum ac Segovesum, sororis filios, impigros iuvenes,
missurum se esse, in quas dii dedissent auguriis sedes,
ostendit: quantum ipsi vellent, numerum hominum ex- 4
cirent, ne qua gens arcere advenientes posset. Tum Se-
goveso sortibus dati Hercynii saltus; Belloveso haud paulo
laetiorem in Italiam viam di dabant. Is, quod e sex 5
populis abundabat, Bituriges, Arvernos, Aeduos, Ambarros,
Carnutes, Aulercos excivit. Profectus ingentibus peditum
equitumque copiis in Tricastinos venit. Alpes inde op- 6
positae erant: quas inexsuperabiles visas haud equidem
miror, nulladum via, quod quidem continens memoria sit,
nisi de Hercule fabulis credere libet, superatas. Ibi quum 7
velut saeptos montium altitudo teneret Gallos, circum-
spectarentque, quanam per iuncta caelo iuga in alium
orbem terrarum transirent, religio etiam tenuit, quod
allatum est, advenas quaerentes agrum ab Salyum gente
oppugnari. Massilienses erant ii, navibus a Phocaea pro- 8
fecti. Id Galli fortunae suae omen rati, adiuvere, ut,
quem primum in terram egressi occupaverant locum,
patientibus Salyis, communirent. Ipsi per Taurinos sal-
tusque Duriae Alpes transcenderunt; fusisque acie Tuscis 9
haud procul Ticino flumine, quum, in quo consederant,
agrum Insubrium appellari audissent, cognominem In-
subribus, pago Aeduorum, ibi omen sequentes loci con-
didere urbem; Mediolanium appellarunt.

B.C. 391. § 1. *He was followed by other Gauls from time to time, and now by the Senones, who had reached the Aesis.* § 5. *The Romans send three Fabii as envoys to Clusium to protest against the invasion of the Gauls.*

Ch. 35. 1 Alia subinde manus Cenomanorum Etitovio duce
vestigia priorum secuta, eodem saltu, favente Belloveso,
quum transcendisset Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona
2 urbes sunt, locos tenuere. Libui considunt post hos
Salluviique, propter antiquam gentem Laevos Ligures in-
colentes circa Ticinum amnem. Poenino deinde Boii
Lingonesque transgressi, quum iam inter Padum atque
Alpes omnia tenerentur, Pado ratibus traiecto non Etruscos
modo, sed etiam Umbros agro pellunt; intra Appenninum
3 tamen sese tenuere. Tum Senones, recentissimi adve-
narum, ab Utente flumine usque ad Aesim fines habuere.
Hanc gentem Clusium Romamque inde venisse comperio;
id parum certum est, solamne an ab omnibus Cisalpino-
4 rum Gallorum populis adiutam. Clusini novo bello ex-
territi, quum multitudinem, quum formas hominum in-
visitatas cernerent et genus armorum, audirentque, saepe
ab iis cis Padum ultraque legiones Etruscorum fusas,
quanquam adversus Romanos nullum eis ius societatis
amicitiaeve erat, nisi quod Veientes consanguineos ad-
versus populum Romanum non defendissent, legatos
5 Romam, qui auxilium ab senatu peterent, misere. De
auxilio nihil impetratum; legati *tres* M. Fabii Ambusti
filii missi, qui senatus populi*que* Romani nomine agerent
cum Gallis, ne, a quibus nullam iniuriam accepissent,
6 socios populi Romani atque amicos oppugnarent. Romanis
eos bello quoque, si res cogat, tuendos esse; sed melius
visum, bellum ipsum amoveri, si posset, et Gallos, novam
gentem, pace potius cognosci quam armis.

§ 1. *The Gauls, in answer to the Roman message, demand land from the Clusini, and the dispute growing hot, a battle follows, in which the Fabii take part.* § 8. *The Gauls protest at Rome and demand the surrender of the Fabii, but the Fabii are elected Military Tribunes for the next year.* **B.C. 391.**

Mitis legatio, ni praeferoces legatos Gallisque magis 1 Ch. 36.
quam Romanis similes habuisset. Quibus, postquam man-
data ediderunt in concilio Gallorum, datur responsum, 2
etsi novum nomen audiant Romanorum, tamen credere,
viros fortes esse, quorum auxilium a Clusinis in re trepida
sit imploratum; et quoniam legatione adversus se malu- 3
erint quam armis tueri socios, ne se quidem pacem, quam
illi afferant, aspernari, si Gallis egentibus agro, quem
latius possideant quam colant Clusini, partem finium con-
cedant; aliter pacem impetrari non posse. Et responsum 4
coram Romanis accipere velle et, si negetur ager, coram iis-
dem Romanis dimicaturos, ut nuntiare domum possent, quan-
tum Galli virtute ceteros mortales praestarent. Quodnam 5
id ius esset, agrum a possessoribus petere aut minari arma,
Romanis quaerentibus, et quid in Etruria rei Gallis esset,
quum illi se in armis ius ferre et omnia fortium virorum
esse ferociter dicerent, accensis utrinque animis ad arma
discurritur et proelium conseritur. Ibi, iam urgentibus 6
Romanam urbem fatis, legati contra ius gentium arma
capiunt. Nec id clam esse potuit, quum ante signa
Etruscorum tres nobilissimi fortissimique Romanae iuven-
tutis pugnarent; tantum eminebat peregrina virtus. Quin 7
etiam Q. Fabius evectus extra aciem equo ducem Gallo-
rum, ferociter in ipsa signa Etruscorum incursantem, per
latus transfixum hasta occidit, spoliaque eius legentem
Galli agnovere, perque totam aciem, Romanum legatum
esse, signum datum est. Omissa inde in Clusinos ira, 8

B.C. 391. receptui canunt minantes Romanis. Erant, qui extemplo Romam eundum censerent; vicere seniores, ut legati prius mitterentur questum iniurias postulatumque, ut pro iure
9 gentium violato Fabii dederentur. Legati Gallorum quum ea, sicut erant mandata, exposuissent, senatui nec factum placebat Fabiorum et ius postulare barbari videbantur; sed ne id, quod placebat, decerneret in tantae nobilitatis
10 viris, ambitio obstabat. Itaque ne penes ipsos culpa esset cladis, *si* forte, Gallico bello acceptae, cognitionem de postulatis Gallorum ad populum reiiciunt; ubi tanto plus gratia atque opes valuere, ut, quorum de poena agebatur, tribuni militum consulari potestate in insequentem annum
11 crearentur. Quo facto haud secus, quam dignum erat, infensi Galli bellum propalam minantes ad suos redeunt.
B.C. 390. Tribuni militum cum tribus Fabiis creati Q. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Servilius quartum, Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis.

Ch. 37. § 1. *The Romans, blinded by fortune, make no special preparations; and when the Gauls advance rapidly, can only march with hastily-levied troops as far as the Alia.*

1 Quum tanta moles mali instaret (adeo occaecat animos fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem refringi non vult), civitas, quae adversus Fidenatem ac Veientem hostem aliosque finitimos populos ultima experiens auxilia dicta-
2 torem multis tempestatibus dixisset, ea tunc, invisitato atque inaudito hoste ab Oceano terrarumque ultimis oris bellum ciente, nihil extraordinarii imperii aut auxilii quaesi-
3 vit. Tribuni, quorum temeritate bellum contractum erat, summae rerum praeerant, dilectumque nihilo accuratiorem, quam ad media bella haberi solitus erat, extenuantes
4 etiam famam belli, habebant. Interim Galli, postquam accepere, ultro honorem habitum violatoribus iuris humani

elusamque legationem suam esse, flagrantes ira, cuius im- B.C. 390.
potens est gens, confestim signis convulsis, citato agmine
iter ingrediuntur. Ad quorum praetereuntium raptim 5
tumultum quum exterritae urbes ad arma concurrerent
fugaque agrestium fieret, Romam se ire magno clamore
significabant, quacunque ibant, equis virisque longe ac
late fuso agmine immensum obtinentes loci. Sed ante- 6
cedente fama nuntiisque Clusinorum, deinceps inde aliorum
populorum, plurimum terroris Romam celeritas hostium
tulit, quippe quibus velut tumultuario exercitu raptim ducto 7
aegre ad undecimum lapidem occursum est, qua flumen
Alia, Crustuminis montibus praealto defluens alveo, haud
multum infra viam Tiberino amni miscetur. Iam omnia 8
contra circaque hostium plena erant, et nata in vanos
tumultus gens truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo
cuncta compleverant sono.

§ 1. *The Romans strengthen their lines on the wings, weakening their centre: and post some reserves on a hill to the right.* Ch. 38.
§ 5. *These hold out for some time, but the rest fly without a struggle, the left wing to Veii, the right to Rome.*

Ibi tribuni militum, non loco castris ante capto, non 1
praemunito vallo, quo receptus esset, non deorum saltem,
si non hominum, memores, nec auspicato nec litato,
instruunt aciem diductam in cornua, ne circumveniri
multitudine hostium possent; nec tamen aequari frontes 2
poterant, quum extenuando infirmam et vix cohaerentem
mediam aciem haberent. Paulum erat ab dextera editi
loci, quem subsidiariis repleri placuit, eaque res ut initium
pavoris ac fugae, sic una salus fugientibus fuit. Nam 3
Brennus, regulus Gallorum, in paucitate hostium artem
maxime timens, ratus ad id captum superiorem locum, ut,
ubi Galli cum acie legionum recta fronte concucurrissent,

B.C. 390. subsidia in aversos transversosque impetum darent, ad 4 subsidiarios signa convertit, si eos loco depulisset, haud dubius, facilem in aequo campi tantum superanti multitudine victoriam fore. Adeo non fortuna modo, sed ratio 5 etiam cum barbaris stabat. In altera acie nihil simile Romanis, non apud duces, non apud milites erat. Pavor fugaque occupaverat animos et tanta omnium oblivio, ut multo maior pars Veios in hostium urbem, quum Tiberis arceret, quam recto itinere Romam ad coniuges ac liberos 6 fugerent. Parumper subsidiarios tutatus est locus; in reliqua acie simul est clamor proximis ab latere, ultimis ab tergo auditus, ignotum hostem prius paene quam viderent, non modo non tentato certamine, sed ne clamore quidem 7 reddito, integri intactique fugerunt; nec ulla caedes pugnantium fuit; terga caesa suomet ipsorum certamine in 8 turba impedientium fugam. Circa ripam Tiberis, quo armis abiectis totum sinistrum cornu defugit, magna strages facta est, multosque imperitos nandi aut invalidos, graves 9 loricis aliisque tegminibus, hausere gurgites; maxima tamen pars incolumis Veios perfugit, unde non modo praesidii quicquam, sed ne nuntius quidem cladis Romam est 10 missus. Ab dextro cornu, quod procul a flumine et magis sub monte steterat, Romam omnes petiere et, ne clausis quidem portis urbis, in arcem confugerunt.

Ch. 39. § 1. *The astonished Gauls advance slowly and pause before attacking the city.* § 4. *In Rome, after mourning for the dead, they decide that the strong men should retire to the Capitol, and the priests and Vestals should escape with their sacred vessels.*

1 Gallos quoque velut obstupefactos miraculum victoriae tam repentinae tenuit, et ipsi pavore defixi primum steterunt, velut ignari, quid accidisset; deinde insidias vereri; postremo caesorum spolia legere armorumque cumulos, ut

mos eis est, coacervare; tum demum, postquam nihil us- B.C. 390.
quam hostile cernebatur, viam ingressi, haud multo ante 2
solis occasum ad urbem Romam perveniunt. Ubi quum
praegressi equites non portas clausas, non stationem pro
portis excubare, non armatos esse in muris rettulissent,
aliud priori simile miraculum eos sustinuit; noctemque 3
veriti et ignotae situm urbis, inter Romam atque Anienem
consedere, exploratoribus missis circa moenia aliasque
portas, quaenam hostibus in perdita re consilia essent.
Romani, quum pars maior ex acie Veios petisset quam 4
Romam, nemo superesse quemquam praeter eos, qui
Romam refugerant, crederet, complorati omnes pariter
vivi mortuique totam prope urbem lamentis impleverunt.
Privatos deinde luctus stupefecit publicus pavor, postquam 5
hostes adesse nuntiatum est; mox ululatus cantusque dis-
sonos, vagantibus circa moenia turmatim barbaris, audie-
bant. Omne inde tempus suspensos ita tenuit animos 6
usque ad lucem alteram, ut identidem iam in urbem
futurus videretur impetus: primo adventus, quia acces-
serant ad urbem; mansuros enim ad Aliam fuisse, nisi
hoc consilii foret; deinde sub occasum solis, quia haud 7
multum diei supererat, ante noctem rati se invasuros; tum
in noctem dilatum consilium esse, quo plus pavoris infer-
rent; postremo lux appropinquans exanimare; timorique 8
perpetuo ipsum malum continens fuit, quum signa infesta
portis sunt illata. Nequaquam tamen ea nocte neque
insequenti die, similis illi, quae ad Aliam tam pavide
fugerat, civitas fuit. Nam quum defendi urbem posse tam 9
parva relicta manu spes nulla esset, placuit, cum coniugibus
ac liberis iuventutem militarem senatusque robur in arcem
Capitoliumque concedere, armisque et frumento collato, 10
ex loco inde munito deos hominesque et Romanum no-

B.C. 390. men defendere; [flaminem] sacerdotesque et Vestales
11 sacra publica a caede, ab incendiis procul auferre, nec ante deseri cultum deorum, quam non superessent, qui
12 colerent. Si arx Capitoliumque, sedes deorum, si senatus, caput publici consilii, si militaris iuventus superfuerit imminenti ruinae urbis, facilem iacturam esse seniorum
13 relictae in urbe utique periturae turbae. Et quo id aequiore animo de plebe multitudo ferret, senes triumphales consularesque simul se cum illis palam dicere obituros, nec his corporibus, quibus non arma ferre, non tueri patriam possent, oneraturos inopiam armatorum.

Ch. 40. § 1. *The young men accordingly go into the citadel, some of them followed by their wives.* § 5. *The mass of the plebs fly to the Ianiculum, and thence scatter over the country.* § 7. *The flamen of Mars and the Vestal virgins are brought in safety to Caere by the piety of L. Albinius.*

1 Haec inter seniores morti destinatos iactata solatia. Versae inde adhortationes ad agmen iuvenum, quos in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequebantur, commendantes virtuti eorum iuventaeque urbis per trecentos sexaginta annos omnibus bellis victricis, quaecunque reliqua esset
2 fortuna. Digredientibus, qui spem omnem atque opem secum ferebant, ab iis, qui captae urbis non superesse statuerant exitio, quum ipsa res speciesque miserabilis
3 erat, tum muliebris fletus et concursatio incerta nunc hos, nunc illos sequentium rogitantiumque viros natosque, cui se fato darent, nihil, quod humani superesset mali,
4 relinquebant. Magna pars tamen earum in arcem suos persecutae sunt, nec prohibente ullo nec vocante, quia, quod utile obsessis ad minuendam imbellem multitudinem,
5 id parum humanum erat. Alia maxime plebis turba, quam nec capere tam exiguus collis nec alere in tanta inopia

frumenti poterat, ex urbe effusa velut agmine iam uno **B.C. 390.**
petiit Ianiculum. Inde pars per agros dilapsi, pars urbes 6
petunt finitimas, sine ullo duce aut consensu, suam quis-
que spem, sua consilia, communibus deploratis, sequentes.
Flamen interim Quirinalis virginesque Vestales, omissa 7
rerum suarum cura, quae sacrorum secum ferenda, quae,
quia vires ad omnia ferenda deerant, relinquenda essent,
consultantes, quisve ea locus fideli asservaturus custodia 8
esset, optimum ducunt condita in doliolis sacello proximo
aedibus flaminis Quirinalis, ubi nunc despui religio est,
defodere; cetera inter se onere partito ferunt via, quae
sublicio ponte ducit ad Ianiculum. In eo clivo eas quum 9
L. Albinius, de plebe Romana homo, conspexisset, plaustro
coniugem ac liberos vehens inter ceteram turbam, quae 10
inutilis bello urbe excedebat, salvo etiam tum discrimine
divinarum humanarumque rerum, religiosum ratus, sacer-
dotes publicos sacraque populi Romani pedibus ire ferri-
que, se ac suos in vehiculo conspici, descendere uxorem
ac pueros iussit, virgines sacraque in plaustrum imposuit
et Caere, quo iter sacerdotibus erat, pervexit.

§ 1. *The Gauls enter by the Colline gate, and traverse the city, awed at the sight of the old men in their robes.* § 9. *But presently they slay them, and plunder and burn the city.* **Ch. 41.**

Romae interim, satis iam omnibus, ut in tali re, ad 1
tuendam arcem compositis, turba seniorum domos regressi
adventum hostium obstinato ad mortem animo exspecta-
bant. Qui eorum curules gesserant magistratus, ut in 2
fortunae pristinae honorumque ac virtutis insignibus more-
rentur, quae augustissima vestis est tensas ducentibus
triumphantibusve, ea vestiti medio aedium eburneis sellis
sedere. Sunt, qui M. Folio pontifice maximo praeeunte 3
carmen devovisse eos se pro patria Quiritibusque Romanis

B.C. 390. tradant. Galli, et quia interposita nocte a contentione
4 pugnae remiserant animos et quod nec in acie ancipiti usquam certaverant proelio nec tum impetu aut vi capiebant urbem, sine ira, sine ardore animorum ingressi postero die urbem patente Collina porta, in forum perveniunt, circumferentes oculos ad templa deum arcemque solam
5 belli speciem tenentem. Inde, modico relicto praesidio, ne quis in dissipatos ex arce aut Capitolio impetus fieret, dilapsi ad praedam vacuis occursu hominum viis, pars in proxima quaeque tectorum agmine ruunt, pars ultima,
6 velut ea demum intacta et referta praeda, petunt; inde rursus ipsa solitudine absterriti, ne qua fraus hostilis vagos exciperet, in forum ac propinqua foro loca conglobati
7 redibant; ubi eos, plebis aedificiis obseratis, patentibus atriis principum, maior prope cunctatio tenebat aperta
8 quam clausa invadendi; adeo haud secus quam venerabundi intuebantur in aedium vestibulis sedentes viros, praeter ornatum habitumque humano augustiorem maiestate etiam, quam vultus gravitasque oris prae se ferebat,
9 simillimos dis. Ad eos velut simulacra versi quum starent, M. Papirius, unus ex iis, dicitur Gallo barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, permulcenti scipione eburneo in caput incusso iram movisse, atque ab eo initium caedis
10 ortum, ceteros in sedibus suis trucidatos; post principum caedem nulli deinde mortalium parci, diripi tecta, exhaustis iniici ignes.

Ch. 42. § 1. *The Romans from the Citadel look on aghast at the fire and plunder,* § 7. *but they hold their post bravely, and in time they are hardened to the sight.*

1 Ceterum, seu non omnibus delendi urbem libido erat, seu ita placuerat principibus Gallorum, et ostentari quaedam incendia terroris causa, si compelli ad deditionem

caritate sedum suarum obsessi possent, et non omnia con- B.C. 390.
cremari tecta, ut, quodcunque superesset urbis, id pignus 2
ad flectendos hostium animos haberent, nequaquam perinde atque in capta urbe prima die aut passim aut late vagatus est ignis. Romani ex arce plenam hostium urbem 3
cernentes vagosque per vias omnes cursus, quum alia atque alia parte nova aliqua clades oreretur, non mentibus solum consipere, sed ne auribus quidem atque oculis satis constare poterant. Quocunque clamor hostium, mulierum 4
puerorumque ploratus, sonitus flammae et fragor ruentium tectorum avertisset, paventes ad omnia animos oraque et oculos flectebant, velut ad spectaculum a fortuna positi occidentis patriae nec ullius rerum suarum relicti praeterquam corporum vindices, tanto ante alios miserandi magis, 5
qui unquam obsessi sunt, quod interclusi a patria obsidebantur, omnia sua cernentes in hostium potestate. Nec 6
tranquillior nox diem tam foede actum excepit; lux deinde noctem inquieta insecuta est, nec ullum erat tempus, quod a novae semper cladis alicuius spectaculo cessaret. Nihil 7
tamen tot onerati atque obruti malis flexerunt animos, quin, etsi omnia flammis ac ruinis aequata vidissent, quamvis inopem parvumque, quem tenebant, collem libertati relictum virtute defenderent; et iam, quum eadem 8
quotidie acciderent, velut assueti malis abalienaverant ab sensu rerum suarum animos, arma tantum ferrumque in dextris velut solas reliquias spei suae intuentes.

§ 1. *The Gauls now attack the Citadel from the Forum, but failing* Ch. 43.
in this, § 4. *they turn the siege into a blockade, dividing their forces: half remain in Rome, half forage in the country round.* § 6. *They come to Ardea, where Camillus is in exile.*

Galli quoque, per aliquot dies in tecta modo urbis ne- 1
quicquam bello gesto, quum inter incendia ac ruinas captae

B.C. 390. urbis nihil superesse praeter armatos hostes viderent, ne-
quicquam tot cladibus territos nec flexuros ad deditionem
animos, ni vis adhiberetur, experiri ultima et impetum
2 facere in arcem statuunt. Prima luce signo dato multitudo
omnis in foro instruitur; inde clamore sublato ac testudine
facta subeunt. Adversus quos Romani nihil temere nec
trepide; ad omnes aditus stationibus firmatis, qua signa
ferri videbant, ea robore virorum opposito, scandere hostem
sinunt, quo successerit magis in arduum, eo pelli posse per
3 proclive facilius rati. Medio fere clivo restitere; atque
inde ex loco superiore, qui prope sua sponte in hostem in-
ferebat, impetu facto strage *ea* ac ruina fudere Gallos, ut
nunquam postea nec pars nec universi tentaverint tale
4 pugnae genus. Omissa itaque spe per vim atque arma
subeundi, obsidionem parant, cuius ad id tempus imme-
mores et, quod in urbe fuerat frumentum, incendiis urbis
absumpserant, et ex agris per eos ipsos dies raptum omne
5 Veios erat. Igitur exercitu diviso partim per finitimos
populos praedari placuit, partim obsidere arcem, ut obsi-
dentibus frumentum populatores agrorum praeberent.
6 Proficiscentes Gallos ab urbe ad Romanam experiendam
virtutem fortuna ipsa Ardeam, ubi Camillus exsulabat,
7 duxit; qui maestior ibi fortuna publica quam sua, quum
diis hominibusque accusandis senesceret, indignando
mirandoque, ubi illi viri essent, qui secum Veios Faleri-
osque cepissent, qui alia bella fortius semper quam felicius
8 gessissent, repente audit, Gallorum exercitum adventare
atque de eo pavidos Ardeates consultare. Nec secus quam
divino spiritu tactus, quum se in mediam contionem intu-
lisset, abstinere suetus ante talibus conciliis;

§ 1. *Camillus urges the men of Ardea to bold action. 'The Gauls,' he says, 'are a barbarous and undisciplined people. Now is the chance to repay the benefits conferred by Rome.'* **B.C. 390.**

'Ardeates' inquit, 'veteres amici, novi etiam cives mei, 1 **Ch. 44.**
quando et vestrum beneficium ita tulit et fortuna hoc egit
mea; nemo vestrum condicionis meae oblitum me huc
processisse putet; sed res ac periculum commune cogit,
quod quisque possit, in re trepida praesidii in medium con-
ferre. Et quando ego vobis pro tantis vestris in me meritis 2
gratiam referam, si nunc cessavero? aut ubi usus erit mei
vobis, si in bello non fuerit? Hac arte in patria steti, et
invictus bello in pace ab ingratis civibus pulsus sum. Vobis 3
autem, Ardeates, fortuna oblata est et pro tantis populi
Romani beneficiis, quanta ipsi meministis (nec enim ex-
probranda apud memores sunt), gratiae referendae et huic
urbi decus ingens belli ex hoste communi pariendi, qui
effuso agmine adventat. Gens est, cui natura corpora 4
animosque magna magis quam firma dederit; eo in
certamen omne plus terroris quam virium ferunt. Argu- 5
mento sit clades Romana: patentem cepere urbem; ex
arce Capitolioque iis exigua resistitur manu; iam obsidi-
onis taedio victi abscedunt vagique per agros palantur.
Cibo vinoque raptim hausto repleti, ubi nox appetit, prope 6
rivos aquarum sine munimento, sine stationibus ac custo-
diis passim ferarum ritu sternuntur, nunc ab secundis rebus
magis etiam solito incauti. Si vobis in animo est tueri 7
moenia vestra nec pati haec omnia Galliam fieri, prima
vigilia capite arma frequentesque me sequimini ad caedem,
non ad pugnam. Nisi vinctos somno velut pecudes truci-
dandos tradidero, non recuso eundem Ardeae rerum
mearum exitum, quem Romae habui.'

B.C. 390. § 1. *Thus encouraged, they take the Gauls' camp by surprise and slay many of them.* § 4. *At the same time two bodies of Etruscan plunderers are cut to pieces near Veii and Salinae.*

Ch. 45. 1 Aequis iniquisque persuasum erat, tantum bello virum
neminem usquam ea tempestate esse. Contione dimissa,
corpora curant, intenti, quam mox signum daretur. Quo
dato, primae silentio noctis ad portas Camillo praesto fuere.
2 Egressi haud procul urbe, sicut praedictum erat, castra
Gallorum intuta neglectaque ab omni parte nacti cum
3 ingenti clamore invadunt. Nusquam proelium, omnibus
locis caedes est; nuda corpora et soluta somno trucidantur.
Extremos tamen pavor cubilibus suis excitos, quae aut
unde vis esset, ignaros in fugam et quosdam in hostem
ipsum improvidos tulit. Magna pars in agrum Antiatem
delati, incursione ab oppidanis in palatos facta circum-
4 veniuntur. Similis in agro Veienti Tuscorum facta strages
est, qui urbis iam prope quadringentesimum annum vicinae,
oppressae ab hoste invisitato, inaudito, adeo nihil miseriti
sunt, ut in agrum Romanum eo tempore incursiones
facerent, plenique praedae Veios etiam, praesidiumque et
spem ultimam Romani nominis, in animo habuerint oppug-
5 nare. Viderant eos milites Romani vagantes per agros et
congregatos agmine, praedam prae se agentes, et castra
6 cernebant haud procul Veiis posita. Inde primum mise-
ratio sui, deinde indignitas atque ex ea ira animos cepit:
Etruscisne etiam, a quibus bellum Gallicum in se avertis-
7 sent, ludibrio esse clades suas? Vix temperavere animis,
quin extemplo impetum facerent; compressi a Q. Caedicio
centurione, quem sibimet ipsi praefecerant, rem in noctem
8 sustinuere. Tantum par Camillo defuit auctor; cetera
eodem ordine eodemque fortunae eventu gesta. Quin
etiam ducibus captivis, qui caedi nocturnae superfuerant,

ad aliam manum Tuscorum ad Salinas profecti, nocte insequente ex improviso maiorem caedem edidere, duplicique victoria ovantes Veios redeunt. **B.C. 390.**

§ 1. *C. Fabius, to the wonder of all, walks through the enemies lines to perform the sacrifice of the Fabian House on the Quirinal.* § 4. *Meanwhile Romans and Latins assemble in large numbers at Veii.* § 7. *With the consent of the Senate, Camillus is summoned from Ardea and named Dictator.* **Ch. 46.**

Romae interim plerumque obsidio segnis et utrin- 1
que silentium esse, ad id tantum intentis Gallis, ne quis hostium evadere inter stationes posset, quum repente iuvenis Romanus admiratione in se cives hostesque convertit. Sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali colle genti 2
Fabiae. Ad id faciendum C. Fabius Dorsuo, Gabino cinctu, sacra manibus gerens, quum de Capitolio descendisset, per medias hostium stationes egressus, nihil ad vocem cuiusquam terroremve motus, in Quirinalem collem pervenit; ibique omnibus sollemniter peractis, eadem 3
revertens similiter constanti vultu graduque, satis sperans propitios esse deos, quorum cultum ne mortis quidem metu prohibitus deseruisset, in Capitolium ad suos rediit, seu attonitis Gallis miraculo audaciae seu religione etiam motis, cuius haudquaquam negligens gens est. Veiis 4
interim non animi tantum in dies, sed etiam vires crescebant. Nec Romanis solum eo convenientibus ex agris, qui aut proelio adverso aut clade captae urbis palati fuerant, sed etiam ex Latio voluntariis confluentibus, ut in parte praedae essent, maturum iam videbatur, repeti 5
patriam eripique ex hostium manibus; sed corpori valido caput deerat. Locus ipse admonebat Camilli, et magna 6
pars militum erat, qui ductu auspicioque eius res prospere gesserant; et Caedicius negare, se commissurum, cur sibi

B.C. 390. aut deorum aut hominum quisquam imperium finiret potius, quam ipse memor ordinis sui posceret impera-
7 torem. Consensu omnium placuit, ab Ardea Camillum acciri, sed antea consulto senatu, qui Romae esset; adeo regebat omnia pudor discriminaque rerum prope perditis
8 rebus servabant. Ingenti periculo transeundum per hostium custodias erat. Ad eam rem Pontius Cominius impiger iuvenis operam pollicitus, incubans cortici secundo
9 Tiberi ad urbem defertur. Inde, qua proximum fuit a ripa, per praeruptum eoque neglectum hostium custodia saxum in Capitolium evadit, et ad magistratus ductus
10 mandata exercitus edit. Accepto inde senatus consulto, uti comitiis curiatis revocatus de exsilio iussu populi Camillus dictator extemplo diceretur, militesque haberent imperatorem, quem vellent, eadem degressus nuntius Veios
11 contendit; missique Ardeam legati ad Camillum Veios eum perduxere, seu (quod magis credere libet, non prius profectum ab Ardea, quam compererit legem latam, quod nec iniussu populi mutari finibus posset nec nisi dictator dictus auspicia in exercitu haberet) lex curiata lata est dictatorque absens dictus.

Ch. 47. § 1. *The Citadel is nearly surprised by the Gauls in the night, but is saved by Juno's sacred geese and the promptitude of M. Manlius.*
§ 7. *Manlius is rewarded, and the guilty sentinel executed.*

1 Dum haec Veiis agebantur, interim arx Romae
2 Capitoliumque in ingenti periculo fuit. Namque Galli, seu vestigio notato humano, qua nuntius a Veiis pervenerat, seu sua sponte animadverso ad Carmentis saxo adscensu aequo, nocte sublustri, quum primo inermem, qui tentaret viam, praemisissent, tradentes inde arma, ubi quid iniqui esset, alterni innixi sublevantesque in vicem et
3 trahentes alii alios, prout postularet locus, tanto silentio in

summum evasere, ut non custodes solum fallerent, sed ne B.C. 390.
canes quidem, sollicitum animal ad nocturnos strepitus,
excitarent. Anseres non fefellere, quibus sacris Iunonis 4
in summa inopia cibi tamen abstinebatur. Quae res
saluti fuit; namque clangore eorum alarumque crepitu
excitus M. Manlius, qui triennio ante consul fuerat, vir
bello egregius, armis arreptis, simul ad arma ceteros ciens
vadit et, dum ceteri trepidant, Gallum, qui iam in summo
constiterat, umbone ictum deturbat. Cuius casus prolapsi 5
quum proximos sterneret, trepidantes alios armisque
omissis saxa, quibus adhaerebant, manibus amplexos tru-
cidat. Iamque et alii congregati telis missilibusque saxis
proturbare hostes, ruinaque tota prolapsa acies in praeceps
deferri. Sedato deinde tumultu reliquum noctis, quantum 6
turbatis mentibus poterat, quum praeteritum quoque peri-
culum sollicitaret, quieti datum est. Luce orta, vocatis 7
classico ad concilium militibus ad tribunos, quum et recte
et perperam facto pretium deberetur, Manlius primum ob
virtutem laudatus donatusque non ab tribunis solum mili-
tum, sed consensu etiam militari; cui universi selibras 8
farris et quartarios vini ad aedes eius, quae in arce erant,
contulerunt, rem dictu parvam, ceterum inopia fecerat eam
argumentum ingens caritatis, quum se quisque victu suo
fraudans detractum corpori atque usibus necessariis ad
honorem unius viri conferret. Tum vigiles eius loci, qua 9
fefellerat adscendens hostis, citati; et quum in omnes
more militari se animadversurum Q. Sulpicius tribunus
militum pronuntiasset, consentiente clamore militum, in 10
unum vigilem coniicientium culpam, deterritus a ceteris
abstinuit, reum haud dubium eius noxae, approbantibus
cunctis, de saxo deiecit. Inde intentiores utrinque cus- 11
todiae esse, et apud Gallos, quia vulgatum erat, inter

B.C. 390. Veios Romamque nuntios commeare, et apud Romanos ab nocturni periculi memoria.

Ch. 48. § 1. *Famine is severe in both camps, and plague among the Gauls.* § 4. *A truce is made for parley, but the Romans still hold out.* § 6. *At length, just as Camillus is making ready at Ardea, the army of the Capitol yield and buy their deliverance for one thousand pounds of gold.*

1 Sed ante omnia obsidionis bellique mala fames utrum-
2 que exercitum urgebat, Gallos pestilentia etiam, quum
loco iacente inter tumulos castra habentes, tum ab in-
cendiis torrido et vaporis pleno cineremque, non pul-
verem modo ferente, quum quid venti motum esset.
3 Quorum intolerantissima gens humorique ac frigori
assueta quum aestu et angore vexata vulgatis velut in
pecua morbis moreretur, iam pigritia singulos sepeliendi
promiscue acervatos cumulos hominum urebant, bustorum-
4 que inde Gallicorum nomine insignem locum fecere. In-
dutiae deinde cum Romanis factae et colloquia permissu
imperatorum habita; in quibus quum identidem Galli
famem obiicerent eaque necessitate ad deditionem voca-
rent, dicitur avertendae eius opinionis causa multis locis
5 panis de Capitolio iactatus esse in hostium stationes. Sed
iam neque dissimulari neque ferri ultra fames poterat.
Itaque dum dictator dilectum per se Ardeae habet, magis-
trum equitum L. Valerium a Veiis adducere exercitum
iubet, parat instruitque, quibus haud impar adoriatur
6 hostes, interim Capitolinus exercitus, stationibus vigiliis-
que fessus, superatis tamen humanis omnibus malis,
quum famem unam natura vinci non sineret, diem de die
7 prospectans, ecquod auxilium ab dictatore appareret, pos-
tremo spe quoque iam, non solum cibo deficiente et, quum
stationes procederent, prope obruentibus infirmum corpus

armis, vel dedi vel redimi se, quacunque pactione possent, B.C. 390.
iussit, iactantibus non obscure Gallis, haud magna mercede se adduci posse, ut obsidionem relinquant. Tum senatus 8
habitus, tribunisque militum negotium datum, ut pacisce-rentur. Inde inter Q. Sulpicium tribunum militum et Brennum regulum Gallorum colloquio transacta res est, et mille pondo auri pretium populi gentibus mox imperaturi factum. Rei foedissimae per se adiecta indignitas est: 9
pondera ab Gallis allata iniqua et, tribuno recusante, additus ab insolente Gallo ponderi gladius, auditaque intoleranda Romanis vox, vae victis [esse].

§ 1. *But Camillus intervenes and breaks off the bargain.* § 3. Ch. 49.
Fortune turns, and the Gauls are twice defeated with great slaughter. § 7. *Camillus wins the name of Rome's second founder.*

Sed diique et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere 1
Romanos. Nam forte quadam, priusquam infanda merces perficeretur, per altercationem nondum omni auro appenso, dictator intervenit, auferrique aurum de medio et Gallos summoveri iubet. Quum illi renitentes pactos 2
dicerent sese, negat eam pactionem ratam esse, quae, postquam ipse dictator creatus esset, iniussu suo ab inferioris iuris magistratu facta esset, denuntiatque Gallis, ut se ad proelium expediant. Suos in acervum coniicere 3
sarcinas et arma aptare ferroque, non auro recuperare patriam iubet, in conspectu habentes fana deum et coniuges et liberos et solum patriae deforme belli malis et omnia, quae defendi repetique et ulcisci fas sit. Instruit 4
deinde aciem, ut loci natura patiebatur, in semirutae solo urbis et natura inaequali, et omnia, quae arte belli secunda suis eligi praepararive poterant, providit. Galli nova re 5
trepidi arma capiunt iraque magis quam consilio in Ro-

B.C. 390. manos incurrunt. Iam verterat fortuna, iam deorum opes
humanaque consilia rem Romanam adiuvabant. Igitur
primo concursu haud maiore momento fusi Galli sunt,
6 quam ad Aliam vicerant. Iustiore altero deinde proelio ad
octavum lapidem Gabina via, quo se ex fuga contulerant,
eiusdem ductu auspicioque Camilli vincuntur. Ibi caedes
omnia obtinuit; castra capiuntur, et ne nuntius quidem
7 cladis relictus. Dictator, recuperata ex hostibus patria,
triumphans in urbem redit, interque iocos militares, quos
inconditos iaciunt, Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque
8 alter urbis haud vanis laudibus appellabatur. Servatam
deinde bello patriam iterum in pace haud dubie servavit,
quum prohibuit migrari Veios, et tribunis rem intentius
agentibus post incensam urbem et per se inclinata magis
9 plebe ad id consilium; eaque causa fuit non abdicandae
post triumphum dictaturae, senatu obsecrante, ne rem
publicam in incerto relinqueret statu.

Ch. 50. § 1. *Camillus purifies all the temples, makes Caere the friend of Rome, establishes Capitoline games, and orders a temple to be built to Aius Locutius.* § 6. *The rescued gold is consecrated, and honour paid to the matrons who gave it.* § 8. *The Tribunes now agitate for migration to Veii, and are opposed by Camillus.*

1 Omnium primum, ut erat diligentissimus religionum
cultor, quae ad deos immortales pertinebant, rettulit et
2 senatus consultum facit, fana omnia, quod ea hostis posse-
disset, restituerentur, terminarentur expiarenturque, expia-
3 tioque eorum in libris per duumviros quaereretur; cum
Caeretibus hospitium publice fieret, quod sacra populi Ro-
mani ac sacerdotes recepissent, beneficioque eius populi
4 non intermissus honos deum immortalium esset; ludi Capi-
tolini fierent, quod Iuppiter optimus maximus suam sedem

atque arcem populi Romani in re trepida tutatus esset; **B.C. 390.**
collegiumque ad eam rem M. Furius dictator constitueret
ex eis, qui in Capitolio atque arce habitarent. Expiandae 5
etiam vocis nocturnae, quae nuntia cladis ante bellum
Gallicum audita neglectaque esset, mentio illata, iussumque
templum in Nova via Aio Locutio fieri. Aurum, quod 6
Gallis ereptum erat quodque ex aliis templis inter trepida-
tionem in Iovis cellam collatum, quum, quo referri opor-
teret, confusa memoria esset, sacrum omne iudicatum et
sub Iovis sella poni iussum. Iam ante in eo religio civi- 7
tatis apparuerat, quod, quum in publico deesset aurum, ex
quo summa pactae mercedis Gallis confieret, a matronis
collatum acceperant, ut sacro auro abstineretur. Matronis
gratiae actae, honosque additus, ut earum sicut virorum
post mortem sollemnis laudatio esset. His peractis, quae 8
ad deos pertinebant quaeque per senatum agi poterant,
tum demum, agitantibus tribunis plebem assiduis contioni-
bus, ut relictis ruinis in urbem paratam Veios transmi-
grarent, in contionem universo senatu prosequente escendit,
atque ita verba fecit.

'*Why have we fought for a city which we mean to desert? The gods have shown their presence by warning, punishment, and reward.*' **Ch. 51.**

'Adeo mihi acerbae sunt, Quirites, contentiones cum 1
tribunis plebis, ut nec tristissimi exsilii solatium aliud ha-
buerim, quoad Ardeae vixi, quam quod procul ab his cer-
taminibus eram, et ob eadem haec non, si millies senati
consulto populique iussu revocaretis, rediturus unquam
fuerim. Nec nunc me, ut redirem, mea voluntas mutata, 2
sed vestra fortuna perpulit; quippe, ut in sua sede maneret
patria, id agebatur, non ut ego utique in patria essem.

B.C. 390. Et nunc quiescerem ac tacerem libenter, nisi haec quoque pro
patria dimicatio esset; cui deesse, quoad vita suppetat, aliis
3 turpe, Camillo etiam nefas est. Quid enim repetiimus, quid
obsessam ex hostium manibus eripuimus, si recuperatam
ipsi deserimus? Et quum, victoribus Gallis, capta tota urbe,
Capitolium tamen atque arcem diique et homines Romani
tenuerint et habitaverint, victoribus Romanis, recuperata
urbe, arx quoque et Capitolium deseretur, et plus vastitatis
huic urbi secunda nostra fortuna faciet, quam adversa fecit?
4 Equidem, si nobis cum urbe simul positae traditaeque per
manus religiones nullae essent, tamen tam evidens numen
hac tempestate rebus affuit Romanis, ut omnem negligen-
5 tiam divini cultus exemptam hominibus putem. Intuemini
enim horum deinceps annorum vel secundas res vel ad-
versas; invenietis omnia prospera evenisse sequentibus
6 deos, adversa spernentibus. Iam omnium primum Veiens
bellum—per quot annos, quanto labore gestum!—non
ante cepit finem, quam monitu deorum aqua ex lacu
7 Albano emissa est. Quid haec tandem urbis nostrae clades
nova? num ante exorta est, quam spreta vox caelo emissa
de adventu Gallorum, quam gentium ius ab legatis nostris
violatum, quam a nobis, quum vindicari deberet, eadem
8 negligentia deorum praetermissum? Igitur victi captique
ac redempti tantum poenarum dis hominibusque dedimus,
ut terrarum orbi documento essemus. Adversae deinde
9 res admonuerunt religionum. Confugimus in Capitolium
ad deos, ad sedem Iovis optimi maximi; sacra in ruina
rerum nostrarum alia terra celavimus, alia avecta in finiti-
mas urbes amovimus ab hostium oculis; deorum cultum,
deserti ab diis hominibusque, tamen non intermisimus.
10 Reddidere igitur patriam et victoriam et antiquum belli
decus amissum, et in hostes, qui caeci avaritia in pondere

auri foedus ac fidem fefellerunt, verterunt terrorem fugam- B.C. 390.
que et caedem.

'*Public and private rites alike can only be duly celebrated here. It* Ch. 52.
is impiety to remove the gods of our city, or to banish their priests. The auspices, and all which they sanction, will be impossible.'

'Haec culti neglectique numinis tanta momenta in rebus 1
humanis cernentes ecquid sentitis, Quirites, quantum
vixdum e naufragiis prioris culpae cladisque emergentes
paremus nefas? Urbem auspicato inauguratoque con- 2
ditam habemus; nullus locus in ea non religionum deo-
rumque est plenus; sacrificiis sollemnibus non dies magis
stati quam loca sunt, in quibus fiant. Hos omnes deos 3
publicos privatosque, Quirites, deserturi estis? Quam par
vestrum factum ei est, quod in obsidione nuper in egregio
adolescente, C. Fabio, non minore hostium admiratione
quam vestra conspectum est, quum inter Gallica tela de-
gressus ex arce sollemne Fabiae gentis in colle Quirinali
obiit? An gentilicia sacra ne in bello quidem intermitti, 4
publica sacra et Romanos deos etiam in pace deseri placet,
et pontifices flaminesque negligentiores publicarum reli-
gionum esse, quam privatus in sollemni gentis fuerit?
Forsitan aliquis dicat, aut Veiis ea nos facturos aut huc 5
inde missuros sacerdotes nostros, qui faciant; quorum
neutrum fieri salvis caerimoniis potest. Et ne omnia gene- 6
ratim sacra omnesque percenseam deos, in Iovis epulo
num alibi quam in Capitolio pulvinar suscipi potest? Quid 7
de aeternis Vestae ignibus signoque, quod imperii pignus
custodia eius templi tenetur, loquar? quid de ancilibus
vestris, Mars Gradive tuque, Quirine pater? Haec omnia
in profano deseri placet sacra, aequalia urbi, quaedam
vetustiora origine urbis? Et videte, quid inter nos ac 8

B.C. 390. maiores intersit. Illi sacra quaedam in monte Albano
Laviniique nobis facienda tradiderunt. An ex hostium
urbibus Romam ad nos transferri sacra religiosum fuit,
hinc sine piaculo in hostium urbem Veios transferemus?
9 Recordamini, agite dum, quoties sacra instaurentur, quia
aliquid ex patrio ritu negligentia casuve praetermissum est.
Modo quae res post prodigium Albani lacus nisi instauratio
sacrorum auspiciorumque renovatio affectae Veienti bello
10 rei publicae remedio fuit? At etiam, tanquam veterum
religionum memores, et peregrinos deos transtulimus
Romam et instituimus novos. Iuno regina transvecta a
Veiis nuper in Aventino quam insigni ob excellens matro-
11 narum studium celebrique dedicata est die! Aio Locutio
templum propter caelestem vocem exauditam in Nova via
iussimus fieri; Capitolinos ludos sollemnibus aliis addidi-
mus, collegiumque ad id novum auctore senatu condidimus;
12 quid horum opus fuit suscipi, si una cum Gallis urbem
Romanam relicturi fuimus, si non voluntate mansimus in
Capitolio per tot menses obsidionis, sed ab hostibus metu
13 retenti sumus? De sacris loquimur et de templis; quid
tandem de sacerdotibus nonne in mentem venit, quantum
piaculi committatur? Vestalibus nempe una illa sedes
est, ex qua eas nihil unquam praeterquam urbs capta
movit; flamini Diali noctem unam manere extra urbem
14 nefas est. Hos Veientes pro Romanis facturi estis sacer-
dotes, et Vestales tuae te deserent, Vesta, et flamen peregre
habitando in singulas noctes tantum sibi reique publicae
15 piaculi contrahet? Quid alia, quae auspicato agimus
omnia fere intra pomoerium, cui oblivioni aut cui negli-
16 gentiae damus? Comitia curiata, quae rem militarem con-
tinent, comitia centuriata, quibus consules tribunosque
militares creatis, ubi auspicato, nisi ubi assolent, fieri

possunt? Veiosne haec transferemus? an comitiorum **B.C. 390.**
causa populus tanto incommodo in desertam hanc ab dis 17
hominibusque urbem conveniet?

'*To migrate now would be a base admission of defeat. A hovel in Rome is better than exile.*' Ch. 53.

'At enim apparet quidem *pollui omnia* nec ullis piaculis 1
expiari posse; sed res ipsa cogit vastam incendiis ruinisque relinquere urbem et ad integra omnia Veios migrare nec hic aedificando inopem plebem vexare. Hanc autem 2
iactari magis causam quam veram esse, ut ego non dicam, apparere vobis, Quirites, puto, qui meministis, ante Gallorum adventum, salvis tectis publicis privatisque, stante incolumi urbe, hanc eandem rem actam esse, ut Veios transmigraremus. Et videte, quantum inter meam sen- 3
tentiam vestramque intersit, tribuni. Vos, etiamsi tunc faciendam non fuerit, nunc utique faciendum putatis; ego contra (nec id mirati sitis, priusquam, quale sit, audieritis), etiamsi tum migrandum fuisset incolumi tota urbe, nunc has ruinas relinquendas non censerem. Quippe tum causa 4
nobis in urbem captam migrandi victoria esset, gloriosa nobis ac posteris nostris; nunc haec migratio nobis misera ac turpis, Gallis gloriosa est. Non enim reliquisse vic- 5
tores, sed amisisse victi patriam videbimur: hoc ad Aliam fuga, hoc capta urbs, hoc circumsessum Capitolium necessitatis imposuisse, ut desereremus penates nostros exsiliumque ac fugam nobis ex eo loco consciceremus, quem tueri non possemus. Et Galli evertere potuerunt Romam, Romani restituere non videbuntur potuisse? Quid restat nisi ut, si iam novis copiis veniant (constat 6
enim, vix credibilem multitudinem esse) et habitare in capta ab se, deserta a vobis hac urbe velint, sinatis?

B.C. 390. Quid? si non Galli hoc, sed veteres hostes vestri, Aequi
7 Volscive, faciant, ut commigrent Romam, velitisne, illos Romanos, vos Veientes esse? an malitis hanc solitudinem vestram quam urbem hostium esse? Non equidem video, quid magis nefas sit. Haec scelera, quia piget aedificare,
8 haec dedecora pati parati estis? Si tota urbe nullum melius ampliusve tectum fieri possit, quam casa illa conditoris est nostri, non in casis ritu pastorum agrestiumque habitare est satius inter sacra penatesque nostros quam
9 exsulatum publice ire? Maiores nostri, convenae pastoresque, quum in his locis nihil praeter silvas paludesque esset, novam urbem tam brevi aedificarunt; nos, Capitolio, arce incolumi, stantibus templis deorum, aedificare incensa piget? et, quod singuli facturi fuimus, si aedes nostrae deflagrassent, hoc in publico incendio universi recusamus facere?

Ch. 54. *'Are not the river and the hills and the sky more than the walls and timbers of our city? The fortune which has stood so long can never be transplanted.'*

1 'Quid tandem? si fraude, si casu Veiis incendium ortum sit, ventoque, ut fieri potest, diffusa flamma magnam partem urbis absumat, Fidenas inde aut Gabios aliamve quam
2 urbem quaesituri sumus, quo transmigremus? Adeo nihil tenet solum patriae nec haec terra, quam matrem appellamus, sed in superficie tignisque caritas nobis patriae
3 pendet? Equidem (fatebor vobis, etsi minus iniuriae vestrae quam [meae] calamitatis meminisse iuvat) quum abessem, quotiescunque patria in mentem veniret, haec omnia occurrebant, colles campique et Tiberis et assueta oculis regio et hoc caelum, sub quo natus educatusque essem: quae vos, Quirites, nunc moveant potius caritate sua, ut maneatis in sede vestra, quam postea, quum

reliqueritis eam, maeerent desiderio. Non sine causa dii B.C. 390.
hominesque hunc urbi condendae locum elegerunt, salu- 4
berrimos colles, flumen opportunum, quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur, quo maritimi commeatus accipiantur, mare vicinum ad commoditates nec expositum nimia propinquitate ad pericula classium externarum, regionem Italiae mediam. Ad incrementum urbis natum 5
unice *esse* locum, argumento est ipsa magnitudo tam novae urbis. Trecentesimus sexagesimus quintus annus urbis, Quirites, agitur; inter tot veterrimos populos tam diu bella geritis, quum interea, ne singulas loquar urbes, non coniuncti cum Aequis Volsci, tot tam valida oppida, non universa Etruria, tantum terra marique pollens atque inter duo maria latitudinem obtinens Italiae, bello vobis par est. Quod quum ita sit, quae, malum, ratio est † 6
expertis alia experiri, quum, iam ut virtus vestra transire alio possit, fortuna certe loci huius transferri non possit? Hic Capitolium est, ubi quondam capite humano invento 7
responsum est, eo loco caput rerum summamque imperii fore; hic, quum augurato liberaretur Capitolium, Iuventas Terminusque maximo gaudio patrum vestrorum moveri se non passi; hic Vestae ignes, hic ancilia caelo demissa, hic omnes propitii manentibus vobis dii.'

The people doubt, but are confirmed by an omen, and the city is rebuilt, but in haste and without rule. Ch. 55.

Movisse Camillus quum alia oratione, tum ea, quae 1
ad religiones pertinebat, maxime dicitur; sed rem dubiam decrevit vox opportune emissa, quod, quum senatus post paulo de his rebus in curia Hostilia haberetur, cohortesque ex praesidiis revertentes forte agmine forum transirent, centurio in comitio exclamavit: 'Signifer, statue signum; 2

B.C. 390. hic manebimus optime.' Qua voce audita, et senatus accipere se omen ex curia egressus conclamavit, et plebs circumfusa approbavit. Antiquata deinde lege, promiscue
3 urbs aedificari coepta. Tegula publice praebita est; saxi materiaeque caedendae, unde quisque vellet, ius factum,
4 praedibus acceptis, eo anno aedificia perfecturos. Festinatio curam exemit vicos dirigendi, dum, omisso sui
5 alienique discrimine, in vacuo aedificant. Ea est causa, ut veteres cloacae, primo per publicum ductae, nunc privata passim subeant tecta, formaque urbis sit occupatae magis quam divisae similis.

BOOK VI.

Wars with Volscians and Etruscans.—Constitutional Struggles.

§ 1. *With the new city begins the period of trustworthy records.* § 6. *Q. Fabius is tried for breach of the 'law of nations.'* § 9. *After an interregnum Military Tribunes are appointed. The surviving documents are collected, and days of disaster exempted from business.* B.C. 390.

Quae ab condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem urbem 1 Ch. 1.
Romani sub regibus primum, consulibus deinde ac dicta-
toribus decemvirisque ac tribunis consularibus gessere,
foris bella, domi seditiones, quinque libris exposui, res 2
quum vetustate nimia obscuras, velut quae magno ex
intervallo loci vix cernuntur, tum quod parvae et rarae
per eadem tempora litterae fuere, una custodia fidelis
memoriae rerum gestarum, et quod, etiamsi quae in com-
mentariis pontificum aliisque publicis privatisque erant
monumentis, incensa urbe pleraeque interiere. Clariora 3
deinceps certioraque ab secunda origine velut ab stirpibus
laetius feraciusque renatae urbis gesta domi militiaeque
exponentur. Ceterum primo, quo adminiculo erecta erat 4
eodem innixa M. Furio principe, stetit, neque eum abdi-
care se dictatura nisi anno circumacto passi sunt. Comitia 5
in insequentem annum tribunos habere, quorum in magis-
tratu capta urbs esset, non placuit; res ad interregnum
rediit. Quum civitas in opere ac labore assiduo reficiendae 6
urbis teneretur, interim Q. Fabio, simul primum magistratu
abiit, ab Cn. Marcio tribuno plebis dicta dies est, quod
[legatus] in Gallos, ad quos missus erat orator, contra ius

B.C. 390. gentium pugnasset; cui iudicio eum mors adeo opportuna,
7 ut voluntariam magna pars crederet, subtraxit. Interreg-
B.C. 389. num initum: P. Cornelius Scipio interrex, et post eum
8 M. Furius Camillus. Is tribunos militum consulari po-
testate creat L. Valerium Publicolam iterum, L. Verginium,
P. Cornelium, A. Manlium, L. Aemilium, L. Postumium.
9 Hi ex interregno quum extemplo magistratum inissent,
nulla de re prius quam de religionibus senatum consuluere.
10 In primis foedera ac leges (erant autem eae duodecim
tabulae et quaedam regiae leges) conquiri, quae com-
parerent, iusserunt; alia ex eis edita etiam in vulgus;
quae autem ad sacra pertinebant, a pontificibus maxime,
ut religione obstrictos haberent multitudinis animos, sup-
11 pressa. Tum de diebus religiosis agitari coeptum, diemque
a. d. xv Kal. Sextiles, duplici clade insignem, quo die ad
Cremeram Fabii caesi, quo deinde ad Aliam cum exitio
urbis foede pugnatum, a posteriore clade Aliensem appel-
larunt, insignemque rei nulli publice privatimque agendae
12 fecerunt. Quidam, quod postridie idus Quintiles non
litasset Sulpicius tribunus militum, neque inventa pace
deum post diem tertium obiectus hosti exercitus Romanus
esset, etiam postridie idus rebus divinis supersederi iussum,
inde, ut postridie calendas quoque ac nonas eadem religio
esset, traditum putant.

Ch. 2. § 1. *The Volscians and Etruscans take up arms,* § 3. *and the Latins and Hernicans, long loyal allies, threaten to rebel.* § 5. *Camillus, named Dictator, raises an army and subdues the Volscians and Aequians.*

1 Nec diu licuit quietis consilia erigendae ex tam gravi
2 casu rei publicae secum agitare. Hinc Volsci, veteres
hostes, ad exstinguendum nomen Romanum arma cepe-
rant; hinc Etruriae principum ex omnibus populis coniu-

rationem de bello ad fanum Voltumnae factam mercatores B.C. 389.
afferebant. Novus quoque terror accesserat defectionis 3
Latinorum Hernicorumque, qui post pugnam ad lacum
Regillum factam per annos prope centum nunquam am-
bigua fide in amicitia populi Romani fuerant. Itaque 4
quum tanti undique terrores circumstarent appareretque
omnibus, non odio solum apud hostes, sed contemptu
etiam inter socios nomen Romanum laborare, placuit, 5
eisdem auspiciis defendi rem publicam, quibus recuperata
esset, dictatoremque dici M. Furium Camillum. Is dic- 6
tator C. Servilium Ahalam magistrum equitum dixit; iusti-
tioque indicto dilectum iuniorum habuit, ita ut seniores
quoque, quibus aliquid roboris superesset, in verba sua
iuratos centuriaret. Exercitum conscriptum armatumque 7
trifariam divisit. Partem unam in agro Veiente Etruriae
opposuit, alteram ante urbem castra locare iussit; tribuni
militum his A. Manlius, illis, qui adversus Etruscos mitte- 8
bantur, L. Aemilius praepositus. Tertiam partem ipse ad
Volscos duxit, nec procul a Lanuvio (ad Mecium is locus
dicitur) castra oppugnare est adortus. Quibus ab con- 9
temptu, quod prope omnem deletam a Gallis Romanam
iuventutem crederent, ad bellum profectis tantum Camillus
auditus imperator terroris intulerat, ut vallo se ipsi, vallum
congestis arboribus saepirent, ne qua intrare ad muni-
menta hostis posset. Quod ubi animadvertit Camillus, 10
ignem in obiectam saepem coniici iussit; et forte erat
vis magna venti versa in hostem; itaque non aperuit 11
solum incendio viam, sed, flammis in castra tendentibus,
vapore etiam ac fumo crepituque viridis materiae flagrantis
ita consternavit hostes, ut minor moles superantibus vallum
in castra Volscorum Romanis fuerit, quam transcendenti-
bus saepem incendio absumptam fuerat. Fusis hostibus 12

B.C. 389. caesisque quum castra impetu cepisset dictator, praedam militi dedit, quo minus speratam minime largitore duce,
13 eo militi gratiorem. Persecutus deinde fugientes, quum omnem Volscum agrum depopulatus esset, ad deditionem
14 Volscos septuagesimo demum anno subegit. Victor ex Volscis in Aequos transiit, et ipsos bellum molientes; exercitum eorum ad Bolas oppressit, nec castra modo, sed urbem etiam aggressus impetu primo cepit.

Ch. 3. § 1. *Meanwhile Sutrium is besieged by the Etruscans, and is forced to surrender,* § 4. *but Camillus surprises the enemy in the midst of their victory, and recovers the city.*

1 Quum in ea parte, in qua caput rei Romanae Camillus erat, ea fortuna esset, aliam in partem terror ingens ingru-
2 erat. Etruria prope omnis armata Sutrium, socios populi Romani, obsidebat; quorum legati, opem rebus affectis orantes, quum senatum adissent, decretum tulere, ut dictator primo quoque tempore auxilium Sutrinis ferret.
3 Cuius spei moram quum pati fortuna obsessorum non potuisset, confectaque paucitas oppidanorum opere, vigiliis, vulneribus, quae semper eosdem urgebant, per pactionem urbe hostibus tradita, inermis cum singulis emissa vestimentis miserabili agmine penates relinqueret, eo forte
4 tempore Camillus cum exercitu Romano intervenit. Cui quum se maesta turba ad pedes provolvisset, principumque orationem necessitate ultima expressam fletus mulierum ac puerorum, qui exsilii comites trahebantur, excepisset, parcere lamentis Sutrinos iussit: Etruscis se luctum lacri-
5 masque ferre. Sarcinas inde deponi Sutrinosque ibi considere modico praesidio relicto, arma secum militem ferre iubet. Ita expedito exercitu profectus ad Sutrium, id quod rebatur, soluta omnia rebus, ut fit, secundis invenit,

nullam stationem ante moenia, patentes portas, victorem B.C. 389.
vagum praedam ex hostium tectis egerentem. Iterum 6
igitur eodem die Sutrium capitur; victores Etrusci passim
trucidantur ab novo hoste, neque se conglobandi coeun-
dique in unum aut arma capiundi datur spatium. Quum 7
pro se quisque tenderent ad portas, si qua forte se in
agros eiicere possent, clausas (id enim primum dictator
imperaverat) portas inveniunt. Inde alii arma capere, 8
alii, quos forte armatos tumultus occupaverat, convocare
suos, ut proelium inirent; quod accensum ab desperatione
hostium fuisset, ni praecones per urbem dimissi poni
arma et parci inermi iussissent nec praeter armatos quem-
quam violari. Tum etiam quibus animi in spe ultima 9
obstinati ad decertandum fuerant, postquam data spes
vitae est, iactare passim arma inermesque, quod tutius
fortuna fecerat, se hosti offerre. Magna multitudo in 10
custodias divisa; oppidum ante noctem redditum Sutrinis
inviolatum integrumque ab omni clade belli, quia non vi
captum, sed traditum per condiciones fuerat.

§ 1. *Camillus celebrates a triple triumph and dedicates his spoils.* Ch. 4.
§ 4. *Those of the Veientines, Capenates and Falisci, who had aided Rome, are made citizens and receive land. Emigrants are recalled from Veii, and new Rome rises rapidly.* § 7. *Military Tribunes are elected, and make raids in the land of the Aequians.* § 9. *In Etruria, Cortuosa and Contenebra are captured.* § 12. *A massive wall is built under the Capitol.*

Camillus in urbem triumphans rediit, trium simul bello- 1
rum victor. Longe plurimos captivos ex Etruscis ante 2
currum duxit, quibus sub hasta venundatis tantum aeris
redactum est, ut, pretio pro auro matronis persoluto, ex eo,
quod supererat, tres paterae aureae factae sint, quas cum 3
titulo nominis Camilli ante Capitolium incensum in Iovis

B.C. 389. cella constat ante pedes Iunonis positas fuisse. Eo anno
4 in civitatem accepti, qui Veientium Capenatiumque ac Falis-
corum per ea bella transfugerant ad Romanos, agerque
5 his novis civibus assignatus. Revocati quoque in urbem
senatus consulto a Veiis, qui aedificandi Romae pigritia,
occupatis ibi vacuis tectis, Veios se contulerant. Et primo
fremitus fuit aspernantium imperium; dies deinde praesti-
tuta capitalisque poena, qui non remigrasset Romam, ex
ferocibus universis singulos, metu suo quemque, obedientes
6 fecit; et Roma quum frequentia crescere, tum tota simul
exsurgere aedificiis, et re publica impensas adiuvante et
aedilibus velut publicum exigentibus opus et ipsis privatis
(admonebat enim desiderium usus) festinantibus ad effec-
7 tum operis; intraque annum nova urbs stetit. Exitu anni
comitia tribunorum militum consulari potestate habita.
B.C. 388. Creati T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, Q. Servilius Fidenas
quintum, L. Iulius Iulus, L. Aquilius Corvus, L. Lucretius
8 Tricipitinus, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus exercitum alterum in
Aequos, non ad bellum (victos namque se fatebantur), sed
ab odio ad pervastandos fines, ne quid ad nova consilia
relinquerent virium, duxere, alterum in agrum Tarquini-
9 ensem. Ibi oppida Etruscorum Cortuosa et Contenebra
vi capta. Ad Cortuosam nihil certaminis fuit: improviso
adorti primo clamore atque impetu cepere; direptum
10 oppidum atque incensum est. Contenebra paucos dies
oppugnationem sustinuit, laborque continuus, non die, non
nocte remissus, subegit eos. Quum in sex partes divisus
exercitus Romanus senis horis in orbem succederet proelio,
oppidanos eosdem integro semper certamini paucitas fessos
obiiceret, cessere tandem, locusque invadendi urbem Ro-
11 manis datus est. Publicari praedam tribunis placebat; sed
imperium quam consilium segnius fuit; dum cunctantur,

iam militum praeda erat nec nisi per invidiam adimi B.C. 388.
poterat. Eodem anno, ne privatis tantum operibus cres- 12
ceret urbs, Capitolium quoque saxo quadrato substructum est, opus vel in hac magnificentia urbis conspiciendum.

§ 1. *The Tribunes of the plebs agitate for the division of the Pomptine land, but the people are too busy to heed them.* § 6. *After an interregnum Military Tribunes are elected. Four tribes are added for the new citizens, making twenty-five in all.* Ch. 5.

Iam et tribuni plebis, civitate aedificando occupata, 1
contiones suas frequentare legibus agrariis conabantur.
Ostentabatur in spem Pomptinus ager, tum primum post 2
accisas a Camillo Volscorum res possessionis haud ambiguae. Criminabantur, multo eum infestiorem agrum ab 3
nobilitate esse, quam a Volscis fuerit; ab illis enim tantum, quoad vires et arma habuerint, incursiones eo factas; nobiles homines in possessionem agri publici 4
grassari, nec, nisi, antequam omnia praecipiant, divisus sit, locum ibi plebi fore. Haud magno opere plebem 5
moverunt, et infrequentem in foro propter aedificandi curam et eodem exhaustam impensis, eoque agri immemorem, ad quem instruendum vires non essent. In 6
civitate plena religionum, tunc etiam ab recenti clade superstitiosis principibus, ut renovarentur auspicia, res ad interregnum rediit. Interreges deinceps M. Manlius Capitolinus, Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus, L. Valerius Potitus; hic demum tribunorum militum consulari potestate comitia 7
habuit. L. Papirium, *C. Cornelium*, C. Sergium, L. B.C. 387.
Aemilium iterum, L. Menenium, L. Valerium Publicolam tertium creat; ii ex interregno magistratum occepere.
Eo anno aedes Martis Gallico bello vota dedicata est a 8
T. Quinctio duumviro sacris faciendis. Tribus quattuor

B.C. 387. ex novis civibus additae, Stellatina, Tromentina, Sabatina, Arniensis; eaeque viginti quinque tribuum numerum explevere.

Ch. 6. § 1. *L. Sicinius again brings on the question of the Pomptine land.* § 3. *Etruria takes up arms, and war is announced from Antium, supported by the Latins. Camillus, one of the Military Tribunes of the year, takes the lead by general consent, and divides the forces of the state into three parts.* § 12. *Camillus and Valerius are to go against Antium, Q. Servilius watch Etruria and the Latins, L. Quinctius guards Rome.*

1 De agro Pomptino ab L. Sicinio tribuno plebis actum
ad frequentiorem iam populum mobilioremque ad cupidi-
2 tatem agri, quam fuerat. Et de Latino Hernicoque bello
mentio facta in senatu maioris belli cura, quod Etruria in
3 armis erat, dilata est. Res ad Camillum tribunum militum
B.C. 386. consulari potestate rediit; collegae additi quinque, Ser.
Cornelius Maluginensis, Q. Servilius Fidenas sextum, L.
Quinctius Cincinnatus, L. Horatius Pulvillus, P. Valerius.
4 Principio anni aversae curae hominum sunt a bello
Etrusco, quod fugientium ex agro Pomptino agmen re-
pente illatum in urbem attulit, Antiates in armis esse
Latinorumque populos iuventutem suam misisse ad id
5 bellum, eo abnuentes publicum fuisse consilium, quod
non prohibitos tantummodo [voluntarios] dicerent mili-
6 tare, ubi vellent. Desierant iam ulla contemni bella.
Itaque senatus dis agere gratias, quod Camillus in magis-
tratu esset: dictatorem quippe dicendum eum fuisse, si
privatus esset; et collegae fateri, regimen omnium rerum,
7 ubi quid bellici terroris ingruat, in viro uno esse, sibique
destinatum [in] animo esse Camillo summittere imperium,
nec quicquam de maiestate sua detractum credere, quod
maiestati eius viri concessissent. Collaudatis ab senatu

tribunis et ipse Camillus, confusus animo, gratias egit. B.C. 386.
Ingens inde ait onus a populo Romano sibi, qui se [dicta- 8
torem] iam quartum creasset, magnum a senatu talibus de
se iudiciis eius ordinis, maximum tam honorato collegarum
obsequio iniungi. Itaque si quid laboris vigiliarumque 9
adiici possit, certantem secum ipsum annisurum, ut tanto
de se consensu civitatis opinionem, quae maxima sit,
etiam constantem efficiat. Quod ad bellum atque Antiates 10
attineat, plus ibi minarum quam periculi esse; se tamen,
ut nihil timendi, sic nihil contemnendi auctorem esse.
Circumsederi urbem Romanam ab invidia et odio finiti- 11
morum; itaque et ducibus pluribus et exercitibus adminis-
trandam rem publicam esse. 'Te' inquit, 'L. Valeri, 12
socium imperii consiliique legiones mecum adversus
Antiatem hostem ducere placet; te, Q. Servili, altero 13
exercitu instructo paratoque ad urbem castra habere,
intentum, sive Etruria se interim, ut nuper, sive nova haec
cura, Latini atque Hernici moverint; pro certo habeo, ita
rem gesturum, ut patre, avo teque ipso ac sex tribunatibus
dignum est. Tertius exercitus ex causariis senioribusque 14
a L. Quinctio scribatur, qui urbi moenibusque praesidio
sit. L. Horatius arma, tela, frumentum, quaeque alia belli
tempora poscent, provideat. Te, Ser. Corneli, praesidem 15
huius publici consilii, custodem religionum, comitiorum,
legum, rerum omnium urbanarum, collegae facimus.'
Cunctis in partes muneris sui benigne pollicentibus 16
operam, Valerius, socius imperii lectus, adiecit, M. Furium
sibi pro dictatore seque ei pro magistro equitum futurum;
proinde, quam opinionem de unico imperatore, eam spem 17
de bello haberent. Se vero bene sperare patres et de
bello et de pace universaque re publica erecti gaudio 18
fremunt, nec dictatore unquam opus fore rei publicae, si

B.C. 386. tales viros in magistratu habeat, tam concordibus iunctos animis, parere atque imperare iuxta paratos laudemque conferentes potius in medium quam ex communi ad se trahentes.

Ch. 7. § 1. *Camillus and Valerius march to Satricum against the Volscians, who are aided by the Hernicans and Latins.* § 3. *Camillus encourages his despondent army.*

1 Iustitio indicto dilectuque habito, Furius ac Valerius ad Satricum profecti, quo non Volscorum modo iuventutem Antiates ex nova subole lectam, sed ingentem Latinorum Hernicorumque *vim* conciverant ex integerrimis diutina pace populis. Itaque novus hostis veteri adiunctus
2 commovit animos militis Romani. Quod ubi aciem iam instruenti Camillo centuriones renuntiaverunt, turbatas militum mentes esse, segniter arma capta, cunctabundosque et restitantes egressos castris esse, quin voces quoque auditas, cum centenis hostibus singulos pugnaturos, et aegre inermem tantam multitudinem, nedum armatam, sustineri posse, in equum insilit et ante signa, obversus in
3 aciem, ordines interequitans: 'Quae tristitia, milites, haec, quae insolita cunctatio est? Hostem an me an vos ignoratis? Hostis est quid aliud quam perpetua materia
4 virtutis gloriaeque vestrae? Vos contra me duce, ut Falerios Veiosque captos et in capta patria Gallorum legiones caesas taceam, modo trigeminae victoriae triplicem triumphum ex his ipsis Volscis et Aequis et ex
5 Etruria egistis. An me, quod non dictator vobis, sed tribunus signum dedi, non agnoscitis ducem? Neque ego maxima imperia in vos desidero, et vos in me nihil praeter me ipsum intueri decet; neque enim dictatura mihi unquam animos fecit, ut ne exsilium quidem ademit.
6 Iidem igitur omnes sumus, et quum eadem omnia in hoc

bellum afferamus, quae in priora attulimus, eundem **B.C. 386.**
eventum belli exspectemus. Simul concurreritis, quod
quisque didicit ac consuevit, faciet: vos vincetis, illi
fugient.'

§ 1. *Camillus leads his troops on foot, and wins a great victory.* Ch. 8.
§ 8. *The Latins and Hernicans return home, and the Volscians take refuge in Satricum: but Camillus takes the town.*

Dato deinde signo ex equo desilit et proximum signi- 1
ferum manu arreptum secum in hostem rapit, 'Infer, miles'
clamitans, 'signum.' Quod ubi videre ipsum Camillum, 2
iam ad munera corporis senecta invalidum, vadentem in
hostes, procurrunt pariter omnes clamore sublato, 'Se-
quere imperatorem' pro se quisque clamantes. Emissum 3
etiam signum Camilli iussu in hostium aciem ferunt, idque
ut repeteretur, concitatos antesignanos; ibi primum pulsum 4
Antiatem, terroremque non in primam tantum aciem, sed
etiam ad subsidiarios perlatum. Nec vis tantum militum 5
movebat, excitata praesentia ducis, sed quod Volscorum
animis nihil terribilius erat quam ipsius Camilli forte
oblata species; ita, quocunque se intulisset, victoriam 6
secum haud dubiam trahebat. Maxime id evidens fuit,
quum in laevum cornu prope iam pulsum arrepto repente
equo cum scuto pedestri advectus conspectu suo proelium
restituit, ostentans vincentem ceteram aciem. Iam incli- 7
nata res erat, sed turba hostium et fugam impediebat, et
longa caede conficienda multitudo tanta fesso militi erat,
quum repente ingentibus procellis fusus imber certam
magis victoriam quam proelium diremit. Signo deinde 8
receptui dato, nox insecuta quietis Romanis perfecit bel-
lum. Latini namque et Hernici relictis Volscis domos
profecti sunt, malis consiliis pares adepti eventus; Volsci 9
ubi se desertos ab eis videre, quorum fiducia rebellaverant,

B.C. 386. relictis castris moenibus Satrici se includunt. Quos primo Camillus vallo circumdare et aggere atque operibus oppugnare est adortus. Quae postquam nulla eruptione impediri videt, minus esse animi ratus in hoste, quam ut in eo tam lentae spei victoriam exspectaret, cohortatus milites, ne tanquam Veios oppugnantes in opere longinquo sese tererent: victoriam in manibus esse, ingenti militum alacritate moenia undique aggressus scalis oppidum cepit. Volsci abiectis armis sese dediderunt.

Ch. 9. § 1. *Antium, the capital of the Volscians, still remains.* § 3. *but the demand of Nepete and Sutrium for help against the Etruscans calls Camillus to the north.* § 6. *He and Valerius, with the city army, re-capture Sutrium, and restore it to their allies.* § 12. *They then march against Nepete, which is in the hands of the Etruscans.*

1 Ceterum animus ducis rei maiori, Antio, imminebat: id
2 caput Volscorum, eam fuisse originem proximi belli. Sed quia nisi magno apparatu, tormentis machinisque, tam valida urbs capi non poterat, relicto ad exercitum collega, Romam est profectus, ut senatum ad excidendum Antium
3 hortaretur. Inter sermonem eius (credo rem Antiatem diuturniorem manere dis cordi fuisse) legati ab Nepete ac Sutrio auxilium adversus Etruscos petentes veniunt, brevem occasionem esse ferendi auxilii memorantes. Eo vim
4 Camilli ab Antio fortuna avertit. Namque quum ea loca opposita Etruriae et velut claustra inde portaeque essent, et illis occupandi ea, quum quid novi molirentur, et Ro-
5 manis recuperandi tuendique cura erat. Igitur senatui cum Camillo agi placuit, ut omisso Antio bellum Etruscum susciperet; legiones urbanae, quibus Quinctius praefuerat,
6 ei decernuntur. Quanquam expertum exercitum assuetumque imperio, qui in Volscis erat, mallet, nihil recu-

savit; Valerium tantummodo imperii socium depoposcit. B.C. 386.
Quinctius Horatiusque successores Valerio in Volscos
missi. Profecti ab urbe Sutrium Furius et Valerius partem 7
oppidi iam captam ab Etruscis invenere, ex parte altera,
intersaeptis itineribus, aegre oppidanos vim hostium ab se
arcentes. Quum Romani auxilii adventus, tum Camilli 8
nomen celeberrimum apud hostes sociosque et in prae-
sentia rem inclinatam sustinuit et spatium ad opem feren-
dam dedit. Itaque diviso exercitu Camillus collegam, in 9
eam partem circumductis copiis, quam hostes tenebant,
moenia aggredi iubet, non tanta spe, scalis capi urbem
posse, quam ut, aversis eo hostibus, et oppidanis iam
pugnando fessis laxaretur labor et ipse spatium intrandi
sine certamine moenia haberet. Quod quum simul utrin- 10
que factum esset ancepsque terror Etruscos circumstaret,
et moenia summa vi oppugnari et intra moenia esse hos-
tem viderent, porta se, quae una forte non obsidebatur,
trepidi uno agmine eiecere. Magna caedes fugientium et 11
in urbe et per agros est facta; plures a Furianis intra
moenia caesi; Valeriani expeditiores ad persequendos
fuere nec ante noctem, quae conspectum ademit, finem
caedendi fecere. Sutrio recepto restitutoque sociis, Nepete 12
exercitus ductus, quod per deditionem acceptum iam totum
Etrusci habebant.

§ 1. *After a vain appeal to the old inhabitants to surrender, the Romans take Nepete by assault. The Etruscans and the disloyal citizens are slain.* § 6. *The Latins and Hernicans disclaim responsibility for their volunteers, and excuse their slackness in not sending troops by their fear of the Volscians.* Ch. 10.

Videbatur plus in ea urbe recipienda laboris fore, non 1
eo solum, quod tota hostium erat, sed etiam quod parte
Nepesinorum prodente civitatem facta erat deditio; mitti 2

B.C. 386. tamen ad principes eorum placuit, ut secernerent se ab Etruscis fidemque, quam implorassent ab Romanis, ipsi
3 praestarent. Unde quum responsum allatum esset, nihil suae potestatis esse, Etruscos moenia custodiasque portarum tenere, primo populationibus agri terror est oppi-
4 danis admotus: deinde, postquam deditionis quam societatis fides sanctior erat, fascibus sarmentorum ex agro collatis, ductus ad moenia exercitus, completisque fossis scalae admotae, et clamore primo impetuque oppidum cap-
5 itur. Nepesinis inde edictum, ut arma ponant, parcique iussum inermi; Etrusci pariter armati atque inermes caesi. Nepesinorum quoque auctores deditionis securi percussi; innoxiae multitudini redditae res, oppidumque
6 cum praesidio relictum. Ita duabus sociis urbibus ex hoste receptis, victorem exercitum tribuni cum magna gloria Romam reduxerunt. Eodem anno ab Latinis Hernicisque res repetitae quaesitumque, cur per eos annos
7 militem ex instituto non dedissent. Responsum frequenti utriusque gentis concilio est, nec culpam in eo publicam nec consilium fuisse, quod suae iuventutis aliqui apud
8 Volscos militaverint; eos tamen ipsos pravi consilii poenam habere, nec quemquam ex iis reducem esse; militis autem non dati causam terrorem assiduum a Volscis fuisse, quam pestem adhaerentem lateri suo tot super alia
9 aliis bellis exhauriri nequisse. Quae relata patribus magis tempus quam causam non visa belli habere.

Ch. 11. § 1. *The Volscians are supported against Rome by the revolt of the Latins and Hernicans.* § 3. *M. Manlius Capitolinus, jealous of the greatness of Camillus, makes common cause with the plebs and their magistrates, and agitates for the relief of debt.* § 9. *A. Cornelius Cossus is named Dictator.*

B.C. 385.

1 Insequenti anno, A. Manlio, P. Cornelio, T. et L.

Quinctiis Capitolinis, L. Papirio Cursore iterum, *C. Sergio* B.C. 385.
iterum tribunis consulari potestate, grave bellum foris,
gravior domi seditio exorta, bellum a Volscis, adiuncta 2
Latinorum atque Hernicorum defectione, seditio, unde
minime timeri potuit, a patriciae gentis viro et inclitae
famae, M. Manlio Capitolino. Qui nimius animi quum 3
alios principes sperneret, uni invideret eximio simul hono-
ribus atque virtutibus, M. Furio, aegre ferebat, solum
eum in magistratibus, solum apud exercitus [esse] tantum
iam eminere, ut iisdem auspiciis creatos non pro collegis, 4
sed pro ministris habeat, quum interim, si quis vere aesti-
mare velit, a M. Furio recuperari patria ex obsidione hos-
tium non potuerit, nisi a se prius Capitolium atque arx 5
servata esset, et ille inter aurum accipiendum et in spem
pacis solutis animis Gallos aggressus sit, ipse armatos
capientesque arcem depulerit, illius gloriae pars virilis
apud omnes milites sit, qui simul vicerint, suae victoriae
neminem omnium mortalium socium esse. His opinion- 6
ibus inflato animo, ad hoc vitio quoque ingenii vehemens
et impotens, postquam inter patres non, quantum aequum
censebat, excellere suas opes animadvertit, primus om- 7
nium ex patribus popularis factus cum plebeiis magistratibus
consilia communicare; criminando patres, alliciendo ad
se plebem, iam aura, non consilio ferri famaeque magnae
malle quam bonae esse. Et non contentus agrariis legi- 8
bus, quae materia semper tribunis plebi seditionum fuisset,
fidem moliri coepit: acriores quippe aeris alieni stimulos
esse, qui non egestatem modo atque ignominiam minentur,
sed nervo ac vinclis corpus liberum territent. Et erat 9
aeris alieni magna vis re damnosissima etiam divitibus,
aedificando, contracta. Bellum itaque Volscum, grave per
se, oneratum Latinorum atque Hernicorum defectione, in

B.C. 385. speciem causae iactatum, ut maior potestas quaereretur; sed nova consilia Manlii magis compulere senatum ad dictatorem creandum. Creatus A. Cornelius Cossus magistrum equitum dixit T. Quinctium Capitolinum.

Ch. 12. § 1. *The Dictator marches into the Pomptine land to meet the Volscian army.* § 2. *How the Volscians and others found troops for all these wars historians do not record.* § 6. *Their numbers now were vast. By the advice of the Dictator the Romans trust to their swords.*

1 Dictator etsi maiorem dimicationem propositam domi quam foris cernebat, tamen, seu quia celeritate ad bellum opus erat, seu victoria triumphoque dictaturae ipsi vires se additurum ratus, dilectu habito in agrum Pomptinum, quo
2 a Volscis exercitum inductum audierat, pergit. Non dubito, praeter satietatem, tot iam libris assidua bella cum Volscis gesta legentibus illud quoque succursurum, quod mihi percensenti propiores temporibus harum rerum auctores miraculo fuit, unde toties victis Volscis et Aequis
3 suffecerint milites. Quod quum ab antiquis tacitum praetermissum sit, cuius tandem ego rei praeter opinionem, quae sua cuique coniectanti esse potest, auctor sim?
4 Simile veri est, aut intervallis bellorum, sicut nunc in dilectibus fit Romanis, alia atque alia subole iuniorum ad bella instauranda toties usos esse, aut non ex iisdem semper populis exercitus scriptos, quanquam eadem semper
5 gens bellum intulerit, aut innumerabilem multitudinem liberorum capitum in eis fuisse locis, quae nunc, vix seminario exiguo militum relicto, servitia Romana ab
6 solitudine vindicant. Ingens certe, quod inter omnes auctores conveniat, quanquam nuper Camilli ductu atque auspicio accisae res erant, Volscorum exercitus fuit; ad hoc Latini Hernicique accesserant et Circeiensium quidam

et coloni etiam a Veliris Romani. Dictator, castris eo B.C. 385.
die positis, postero quum auspicato prodisset hostiaque 7
caesa pacem deum adorasset, laetus ad milites iam arma
ad propositum pugnae signum, sicut edictum erat, luce
prima capientes processit. 'Nostra victoria est, milites' 8
inquit, 'si quid di vatesque eorum in futurum vident.
Itaque, ut decet certae spei plenos et cum imparibus
manus conserturos, pilis ante pedes positis, gladiis tantum
dextras armemus. Ne procurri quidem ab acie velim, sed
obnixos vos stabili gradu impetum hostium excipere.
Ubi illi vana iniecerint missilia et effusi stantibus vobis se 9
intulerint, tum micent gladii, et veniat in mentem uni-
cuique, deos esse, qui Romanum adiuvent, deos, qui
secundis avibus in proelium miserint. Tu, T. Quincti, 10
equitem intentus ad primum initium moti certaminis tene;
at ubi haerere iam aciem collato pede videris, tum ter-
rorem equestrem occupatis alio labore infer, invectusque
ordines pugnantium dissipa.' Sic eques, sic pedes, ut 11
praeceperat, pugnant; nec dux legiones nec fortuna
fefellit ducem.

§ 1. *The infantry drive back the enemy, and the cavalry complete the rout.* § 4. *Many are killed and many taken prisoners.* § 7. *The disloyalty of the Latins and Hernicans, and of the colonists of Circeii and Velitrae, is proved beyond doubt.* Ch. 13.

Multitudo hostium, nulli rei praeterquam numero freta 1
et oculis utramque metiens aciem, temere proelium iniit,
temere omisit; clamore tantum missilibusque telis et primo 2
pugnae impetu ferox, gladios et collatum pedem et vultum
hostis ardore animi micantem ferre non potuit. Impulsa 3
frons prima et trepidatio subsidiis illata; et suum terrorem
intulit eques; rupti inde multis locis ordines motaque
omnia, et fluctuanti similis acies erat. Dein postquam

B.C. 385. cadentibus primis iam ad se quisque perventuram caedem
4 cernebat, terga vertunt. Instare Romanus; et donec armati confertique abibant, peditum labor in persequendo fuit; postquam iactari arma passim fugaque per agros spargi aciem hostium animadversum est, tum equitum turmae emissae, dato signo, ne in singulorum morando caede spatium ad evadendum interim multitudini darent:
5 satis esse missilibus ac terrore impediri cursum obequitandoque agmen teneri, dum assequi pedes et iusta caede
6 conficere hostem posset. Fugae sequendique non ante noctem finis fuit. Capta quoque ac direpta eodem die castra Volscorum, praedaque omnis praeter libera corpora
7 militi concessa est. Pars maxima captivorum ex Latinis atque Hernicis fuit, nec omnium de plebe, ut credi posset mercede militasse, sed principes quidam iuventutis inventi, manifesta fides, publica ope Volscos hostes adiutos.
8 Circeiensium quoque quidam cogniti et coloni a Velitris; Romamque omnes missi percontantibus primoribus patrum eadem, quae dictatori, defectionem sui quisque populi, haud perplexe indicavere.

Ch. 14. § 1. *Meanwhile faction is rife at Rome. Manlius liberates a centurion arrested for debt, and sells his estates for the people.* § 11. *He attacks the patricians in speeches given at his own house, and accuses them of appropriating the gold recovered from the Gauls.*

1 Dictator exercitum in stativis tenebat, minime dubius, bellum cum iis populis patres iussuros, quum maior domi exorta moles coegit acciri Romam eum, gliscente in dies seditione, quam solito magis metuendam auctor faciebat.
2 Non enim iam orationes modo M. Manlii, sed facta popularia in speciem, tumultuosa eadem, qua mente

fierent, intuenti erant. Centurionem, nobilem militaribus B.C. 385.
factis, iudicatum pecuniae quum duci vidisset, medio foro 3
cum caterva sua accurrit et manum iniecit, vociferatusque
de superbia patrum ac crudelitate feneratorum et miseriis
plebis, virtutibus eius viri fortunaque, 'Tum vero ego' 4
inquit, 'nequicquam hac dextra Capitolium arcemque
servaverim, si civem commilitonemque meum, tanquam
Gallis victoribus captum, in servitutem ac vincla duci
videam.' Inde rem creditori palam populo solvit, libraque 5
et aere liberatum emittit, deos atque homines obtestantem,
ut M. Manlio, liberatori suo, parenti plebis Romanae,
gratiam referant. Acceptus extemplo in tumultuosam 6
turbam et ipse tumultum augebat, cicatrices acceptas
Veienti, Gallico aliisque deinceps bellis ostentans: se 7
militantem, se restituentem eversos penates, multiplici iam
sorte exsoluta, mergentibus semper sortem usuris, obrutum
fenore esse; videre lucem, forum, civium ora M. Manlii
opera; omnia parentium beneficia ab illo se habere; illi 8
devovere corporis vitaeque ac sanguinis quod supersit;
quodcunque sibi cum patria, penatibus publicis ac privatis
iuris fuerit, id cum uno homine esse. His vocibus in- 9
stincta plebes quum iam unius hominis esset, addita alia
commotioris ad omnia turbanda consilii res. Fundum in 10
Veienti, caput patrimonii, subiecit praeconi, 'ne quem
vestrum' inquit, 'Quirites, donec quicquam in re mea
supererit, iudicatum addictumve duci patiar.' Id vero ita
accendit animos, ut per omne fas ac nefas secuturi vindicem
libertatis viderentur. Ad hoc domi, contionantis in 11
modum, sermones pleni criminum in patres; inter quos,
[quum] omisso discrimine, vera an vana iaceret, thesauros
Gallici auri occultari a patribus iecit, nec iam possidendis
publicis agris contentos esse, nisi pecuniam quoque pub-

B.C. 385. licam avertant; ea res si palam fiat, exsolvi plebem aere
12 alieno posse. Quae ubi obiecta spes est, enimvero in-
dignum facinus videri, quum conferendum ad redimendam
civitatem a Gallis aurum fuerit, tributo collationem factam,
idem aurum ex hostibus captum in paucorum praedam
13 cessisse. Itaque exsequebantur quaerendo, ubi tantae rei
furtum occultaretur; differenteque et tempore suo se
indicaturum dicente, ceteris omissis eo versae erant
omnium curae, apparebatque, nec veri indicii gratiam
mediam nec falsi offensionem fore.

Ch. 15. § 1. *The Dictator, recalled to Rome, summons Manlius, and bids him expose the offenders and relieve the people.* § 7. *Manlius replies with a bitter attack on the Dictator as the tool of senators and usurers.*

1 Ita suspensis rebus, dictator accitus ab exercitu in
urbem venit. Postero die senatu habito, quum satis
periclitatus voluntates hominum discedere senatum ab se
2 vetuisset, stipatus ea multitudine, sella in comitio posita,
viatorem ad M. Manlium misit; qui dictatoris iussu
vocatus, quum signum suis dedisset, adesse certamen,
3 agmine ingenti ad tribunal venit. Hinc senatus, hinc
plebs, suum quisque intuentes ducem, velut in acie con-
4 stiterant. Tum dictator, silentio facto, 'Utinam' inquit,
'mihi patribusque Romanis ita de ceteris rebus cum plebe
conveniat, quemadmodum, quod ad te attinet eamque rem,
quam de te sum quaesiturus, conventurum satis confido.
5 Spem factam a te civitati video, fide incolumi ex thesauris
Gallicis, quos primores patrum occultent, creditum solvi
posse. Cui ego rei tantum abest ut impedimento sim, ut
contra te, M. Manli, adhorter, liberes fenore plebem

Romanam et istos incubantes publicis thesauris ex praeda B.C. 385.
clandestina evolvas. Quod nisi facis, sive ut et ipse in 6
parte praedae sis, sive quia vanum indicium est, in vincla
te duci iubebo nec diutius patiar, a te multitudinem fallaci
spe concitari.' Ad ea Manlius nec se fefellisse ait, non 7
adversus Volscos, toties hostes, quoties patribus expediat,
nec adversus Latinos Hernicosque, quos falsis criminibus
in arma agant, sed adversus se ac plebem Romanam dic-
tatorem creatum esse; iam omisso bello, quod simulatum 8
sit, in se impetum fieri; iam dictatorem profiteri patro-
cinium feneratorum adversus plebem; iam sibi ex favore
multitudinis crimen et perniciem quaeri. 'Offendit' 9
inquit, 'te, A. Corneli, vosque, patres conscripti, circumfusa
turba lateri meo? Quin eam diducitis a me singuli vestris
beneficiis, intercedendo, eximendo de nervo cives vestros,
prohibendo iudicatos addictosque duci, ex eo, quod affluit
opibus vestris, sustinendo necessitates aliorum? Sed quid 10
ego vos, de vestro impendatis, hortor? Sortem reliquam
ferte; de capite deducite, quod usuris pernumeratum est;
iam nihilo mea turba quam ullius conspectior erit. At
enim quid ita solus ego civium curam ago? Nihilo 11
magis, quod respondeam, habeo, quam si quaeras, quid
ita solus Capitolium arcemque servaverim. Et tum uni-
versis, quam potui, opem tuli et nunc singulis feram.
Nam quod ad thesauros Gallicos attinet, rem suapte 12
natura facilem difficilem interrogatio facit. Cur enim
quaeritis, quod scitis? cur, quod in sinu vestro est, excuti
iubetis potius, quam ponatis, nisi aliqua fraus subest? 13
Quo magis argui praestigias iubetis vestras, eo plus vereor,
ne abstuleritis observantibus etiam oculos. Itaque non
ego vobis, ut indicem praedas vestras, sed vos id cogendi
estis, ut in medium proferatis.'

B.C. 385. § 1. *Manlius is arrested and put in prison.* § 3. *The people are indignant, but too trained in obedience to use violence.* § 5. *Their indignation is increased by the Dictator's triumph. A colony of* 2000 *citizens is sent to Satricum, but this only aggravates the discontent. The Dictator resigns.*

Ch. 16. 1 Quum mittere ambages dictator iuberet et aut peragere
verum indicium cogeret aut fateri facinus insimulati falso
crimine senatus oblataeque vani furti invidiae, negantem
arbitrio inimicorum se locuturum in vincla duci iussit.
2 Arreptus a viatore 'Iuppiter' inquit 'optime maxime
Iunoque regina ac Minerva ceterique di deaeque, qui
Capitolium arcemque incolitis, sicine vestrum militem ac
praesidem sinitis vexari ab inimicis? haec dextra, qua
Gallos fudi a delubris vestris, iam in vinclis et catenis
3 erit?' Nullius nec oculi nec aures indignitatem ferebant;
sed invicta sibi quaedam patientissima iusti imperii civitas
fecerat, nec adversus dictatoriam vim aut tribuni plebis
aut ipsa plebs attollere oculos aut hiscere audebant.
4 Coniecto in carcerem Manlio, satis constat magnam
partem plebis vestem mutasse, multos mortales capillum
ac barbam promisisse, obversatamque vestibulo carceris
5 maestam turbam. Dictator de Volscis triumphavit, invidiaeque magis triumphus quam gloriae fuit; quippe domi,
non militiae partum eum actumque de cive, non de hoste
fremebant; unum defuisse tantum superbiae, quod non
6 M. Manlius ante currum sit ductus. Iamque haud procul
seditione res erat; cuius leniendae causa, postulante
nullo, largitor voluntarius repente senatus factus Satricum
coloniam duo millia civium Romanorum deduci iussit.
7 Bina iugera et semisses agri assignati; quod quum et
parvum et paucis datum et mercedem esse prodendi M.
8 Manlii interpretarentur, remedio irritatur seditio. Et iam

magis insignis sordibus et facie reorum turba Manliana **B.C. 385.**
erat, amotusque post triumphum abdicatione dictaturae terror et linguam et animos liberaverat hominum.

§ 1. *The people are reproached for their indifference to their defender.* § 6. *The release of Manlius gives them a leader.* § 7. *The Latins and Hernicans, and the colonists of Circeii and Velitrae ask for their prisoners, but are denied and threatened.* Ch. 17.

Audiebantur itaque propalam voces exprobrantium 1
multitudini, quod defensores suos semper in praecipitem locum favore tollat, deinde in ipso discrimine periculi destituat: sic Sp. Cassium in agros plebem vocantem, sic 2
Sp. Maelium ab ore civium famem suis impensis propulsantem oppressos; sic M. Manlium, mersam et obrutam fenore partem civitatis in libertatem ac lucem extrahentem, proditum inimicis. Saginare plebem [populares] suos, ut 3
iugulentur. Hocine patiendum fuisse, si ad nutum dictatoris non responderit vir consularis? Fingerent, mentitum ante, atque ideo non habuisse, quod tum responderet; cui servo unquam mendacii poenam vincla fuisse? Non 4
obversatam esse memoriam noctis illius, quae paene ultima atque aeterna nomini Romano fuerit? non speciem agminis Gallorum per Tarpeiam rupem scandentis? non ipsius M. Manlii, qualem eum armatum, plenum sudoris ac sanguinis, ipso paene Iove erepto ex hostium manibus, vidissent? Sēlībrisne farris gratiam servatori patriae re- 5
latam? et quem prope caelestem, cognomine certe Capitolino Iovi parem fecerint, eum pati vinctum in carcere, in tenebris obnoxiam carnificis arbitrio ducere animam? Adeo in uno omnibus satis auxilii fuisse, nullam opem in tam multis uni esse? Iam ne nocte quidem turba ex 6
eo loco dilabebatur, refracturosque carcerem minabantur,

B.C. 385. quum remisso, quod erepturi erant, ex senatus consulto
Manlius vinclis liberatur; quo facto non seditio finita,
7 sed dux seditioni datus est. Per eosdem dies Latinis et
Hernicis, simul colonis Circeiensibus et a Velitris, purgantibus se Volsci crimine belli captivosque repetentibus, ut suis legibus in eos animadverterent, tristia responsa reddita, tristiora colonis, quod cives Romani patriae op-
8 pugnandae nefanda consilia inissent. Non negatum itaque tantum de captivis, sed, in quo ab sociis tamen temperaverant, denuntiatum senatus verbis, facesserent propere ex urbe ab ore atque oculis populi Romani, ne nihil eos legationis ius, externo, non civi comparatum, tegeret.

Ch. 18. § 1. *There is no war abroad, and therefore the struggle between patricians and plebs becomes more intense.* § 3. *Manlius, from his house on the Capitol, urges the plebs to action: 'Show your strength, and you will get your rights. You can rule the patricians as you have ruled your enemies, if you so resolve. Dictator and consul must fall, and the plebs be free!'*

1 Recrudescente Manliana seditione, sub exitum anni comitia habita, creatique tribuni militum consulari po-
B.C. 384. testate Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis iterum, P. Valerius Potitus iterum, M. Furius Camillus quintum, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus iterum, C. Papirius Crassus, T. Quinctius
2 Cincinnatus iterum. Cuius principio anni et patribus et plebi peropportune externa pax data, plebi, quod non avocata dilectu spem cepit, dum tam potentem haberet ducem, fenoris expugnandi, patribus, ne quo externo terrore avocarentur animi ab sanandis domesticis malis.
3 Igitur quum pars utraque acrior aliquanto coorta esset, iam propinquum certamen aderat. Et Manlius, advocata domum plebe, cum principibus novandarum rerum interdiu noctuque consilia agitat, plenior aliquanto animorum ira-

rumque, quam antea fuerat. Iram accenderat ignominia **B.C. 384.**
recens in animo ad contumeliam inexperto; spiritus dabat, 4
quod nec ausus esset idem in se dictator, quod in Sp.
Maelio Cincinnatus Quinctius fecisset, et vinclorum suo-
rum invidiam non dictator modo abdicando dictaturam
fugisset, sed ne senatus quidem sustinere potuisset. His 5
simul inflatus exacerbatusque iam per se accensos inci-
tabat plebis animos. 'Quousque tandem ignorabitis vires
vestras, quas natura ne beluas quidem ignorare voluit?
Numerate saltem, quot ipsi sitis, quot adversarios habeatis.
Si singuli singulos aggressuri essetis, tamen acrius cre- 6
derem vos pro libertate quam illos pro dominatione cer-
taturos; quoteni clientes circa singulos fuistis patronos,
tot nunc adversus unum hostem eritis. Ostendite modo 7
bellum; pacem habebitis. Videant vos paratos ad vim;
ius ipsi remittent. Audendum est aliquid universis, aut
omnia singulis patienda. Quosque me circumspectabitis? 8
Ego quidem nulli vestrum deero; ne fortuna mea desit,
videte. Ipse vindex vester, ubi visum inimicis est, nullus
repente fui, et vidistis in vincla duci universi eum, qui a
singulis vobis vincla depuleram. Quid sperem, si plus 9
in me audeant inimici? An exitum Cassii Maeliique
exspectem? Bene facitis, quod abōminamini. Di pro-
hibebunt haec; sed nunquam propter me de caelo de-
scendent; vobis dent mentem oportet, ut prohibeatis,
sicut mihi dederunt armato togatoque, ut vos a barbaris
hostibus, a superbis defenderem civibus. Tam parvus 10
animus tanti populi est, ut semper vobis auxilium adversus
inimicos satis sit, nec ullum, nisi quatenus imperari vobis
sinatis, certamen adversus patres noritis? Nec hoc natura
insitum vobis est, sed usu possidemini. Cur enim ad- 11
versus externos tantum animorum geritis, ut imperare

B.C. 384. illis aequum censeatis? Quia consuestis cum eis pro imperio certare, adversus hos tentare magis quam tueri
12 libertatem. Tamen, qualescunque duces habuistis, qualescunque ipsi fuistis, omnia adhuc, quantacunque petistis, obtinuistis seu vi seu fortuna vestra. Tempus est [et]iam
13 maiora conari. Experimini modo et vestram felicitatem et me, ut spero, feliciter expertum; minore negotio, qui imperet, patribus imponetis quam, qui resisterent impe-
14 rantibus, imposuistis. Solo aequandae sunt dictaturae consulatusque, ut caput attollere Romana plebes possit. Proinde adeste; prohibete ius de pecuniis dici; ego me patronum profiteor plebis, quod mihi cura mea et fides
15 nomen induit; vos si quo insigni magis imperii honorisve nomine vestrum appellabitis ducem, eo utemini potentiore
16 ad obtinenda ea, quae vultis.' Inde de regno agendi ortum initium dicitur; sed nec cum quibus nec quem ad finem consilia pervenerint, satis planum traditur.

Ch. 19. § 1. *The Senate calls upon the Magistrates to guard the State* (ultimum decretum), § 4. *and Military Tribunes and Tribunes of the plebs agree to bring Manlius to trial.*

1 At in parte altera senatus de secessione in domum privatam plebis, forte etiam in arce positam, et imminenti
2 mole libertati agitat. Magna pars vociferantur, Servilio Ahala opus esse, qui non in vincla duci iubendo irritet publicum hostem, sed unius iactura civis finiat intestinum
3 bellum. Decurritur ad leniorem verbis sententiam, vim tamen eandem habentem, ut videant magistratus, ne quid ex perniciosis consiliis M. Manlii res publica detrimenti
4 capiat. Tum tribuni consulari potestate tribunique plebi (nam et *ei*, quia eundem et suae potestatis, quem libertatis omnium, finem cernebant, patrum auctoritati se dedide-

rant) hi tum omnes, quid opus facto sit, consultant. Quum **B.C. 384.**
praeter vim et caedem nihil cuiquam occurreret, eam 5
autem ingentis dimicationis fore appareret, tum M. Menenius et Q. Publilius tribuni plebis: 'Quid patrum et 6
plebis certamen facimus, quod civitatis esse adversus unum pestiferum civem debet? Quid cum plebe aggredimur eum, quem per ipsam plebem tutius aggredi est, ut suis ipse oneratus viribus ruat? Diem dicere ei nobis in 7
animo est. Nihil minus populare quam regnum est. Simul multitudo illa non secum certari viderint et ex advocatis iudices facti erunt et accusatores de plebe, patricium reum intuebuntur et regni crimen in medio, nulli magis quam libertati favebunt suae.'

§ 1. *Manlius on his trial is supported by none of his friends. In spite of the sight of his spoils of war and the many men whom he had relieved, only the nearness of the Capitol saves him.* § 11. *The trial is adjourned to another place, and Manlius is condemned and executed.* § 15. *A plague follows, and the people regret their champion.* **Ch. 20.**

Approbantibus cunctis diem Manlio dicunt. Quod 1
ubi est factum, primo commota plebs est, utique postquam sordidatum reum viderunt nec cum eo non modo patrum 2
quemquam, sed ne cognatos quidem aut affines, postremo ne fratres quidem A. et T. Manlios, quod ad eum diem nunquam usu venisset, ut in tanto discrimine non et proximi vestem mutarent: App. Claudio in vincla ducto 3
C. Claudium inimicum Claudiamque omnem gentem sordidatam fuisse; consensu opprimi popularem virum, quod primus a patribus ad plebem defecisset. Quum dies venit, 4
quae praeter coetus multitudinis seditiosasque voces et largitionem et fallax indicium pertinentia proprie ad regni

B.C. 384. crimen ab accusatoribus obiecta sint reo, apud neminem
5 auctorem invenio; nec dubito, haud parva fuisse, quum
damnandi mora plebi non in causa, sed in loco fuerit.
Illud notandum videtur, ut sciant homines, quae et quanta
decora foeda cupiditas regni non ingrata solum, sed invisa
6 etiam reddiderit: homines prope quadringentos pro-
duxisse dicitur, quibus sine fenore expensas pecunias
tulisset, quorum bona venire, quos duci addictos pro-
7 hibuisset; ad haec decora quoque belli non commemorasse
tantum, sed protulisse etiam conspicienda, spolia hostium
caesorum ad triginta, dona imperatorum ad quadraginta,
in quibus insignes duas murales coronas, civicas octo;
8 ad hoc servatos ex hostibus cives [produxit], inter quos
C. Servilium magistrum equitum absentem nominatim;
et quum ea quoque, quae bello gesta essent, pro fastigio
rerum oratione etiam magnifica, facta dictis aequando,
memorasset, nudasse pectus insigne cicatricibus bello
9 acceptis et identidem Capitolium spectans Iovem deosque
alios devocasse ad auxilium fortunarum suarum precatus-
que esse, ut, quam mentem sibi Capitolinam arcem pro-
tegenti ad salutem populi Romani dedissent, eam populo
Romano in suo discrimine darent, et orasse singulos
universosque, ut Capitolium atque arcem intuentes, ut
10 ad deos immortales versi de se iudicarent. In campo
Martio quum centuriatim populus citaretur, et reus ad
Capitolium manus tendens ab hominibus ad deos preces
avertisset, apparuit tribunis, nisi oculos quoque hominum
liberassent tanti memoria decoris, nunquam fore in prae-
11 occupatis beneficio animis vero crimini locum. Ita pro-
dicta die, in Petelinum lucum extra portam Flumentanam,
unde conspectus in Capitolium non esset, concilium populi
indictum est. Ibi crimen valuit, et obstinatis animis triste

iudicium invisumque etiam iudicibus factum. Sunt, qui **B.C. 384.**
per duumviros, qui de perduellione anquirerent, creatos 12
auctores sint damnatum. Tribuni de saxo Tarpeio deiecerunt, locusque idem in uno homine et eximiae gloriae
monumentum et poenae ultimae fuit. Adiectae mortuo 13
notae sunt, publica una, quod, quum domus eius fuisset, ubi nunc aedes atque officina Monetae est, latum ad populum est, ne quis patricius in arce aut Capitolio
habitaret, gentilicia altera, quod gentis Manliae decreto 14
cautum est, ne quis deinde M. Manlius vocaretur. Hunc exitum habuit vir, nisi in libera civitate natus esset,
memorabilis. Populum brevi, postquam periculum ab eo 15
nullum erat, per se ipsas recordantem virtutes desiderium eius tenuit. Pestilentia etiam brevi consecuta, nullis occurrentibus tantae cladis causis, ex Manliano supplicio
magnae parti videri orta: violatum Capitolium esse san- 16
guine servatoris, nec dis cordi fuisse, poenam eius oblatam prope oculis suis, a quo sua templa erepta e manibus hostium essent.

§ 1. *Besides the war with the Volscians and Circeii and Velitrae* **Ch. 21.**
the loyal Lanuvium revolts. § 4. *Preparations are made for war, and the people conciliated.* § 9. *Praeneste is accused of revolt.*

Pestilentiam inopiā frugum et vulgatam utriusque mali 1
famam anno insequente multiplex bellum excepit, L.
Valerio quartum, A. Manlio tertium, Ser. Sulpicio tertium, **B.C. 383.**
L. Lucretio, L. Aemilio tertium, M. Trebonio tribunis
militum consulari potestate. Hostes novi, praeter Volscos, 2
velut sorte quadam prope in aeternum exercendo Romano militi datos, Circeiosque et Velitras colonias, iam diu molientes defectionem, et suspectum Latium, Lanuvini etiam,
quae fidelissima urbs fuerat, subito exorti. Id patres rati 3

B.C. 383. contemptu accidere, quod Veliternis civibus suis tam diu
impunita defectio esset, decreverunt, ut primo quoque
4 tempore ad populum ferretur de bello eis indicendo. Ad
quam militiam quo paratior plebes esset, quinqueviros
Pomptino agro dividendo et triumviros Nepete coloniae
5 deducendae creaverunt. Tum, ut bellum iuberent, latum
ad populum est, et nequiquam dissuadentibus tribunis
6 plebis omnes tribus bellum iusserunt. Apparatum eo
anno bellum est, exercitus propter pestilentiam non
eductus; eaque cunctatio colonis spatium dederat depre-
candi senatum; et magna hominum pars eo, ut legatio
7 supplex Romam mitteretur, inclinabat, ni privato, ut fit,
periculo publicum implicitum esset auctoresque defectionis
ab Romanis metu, ne soli crimini subiecti piacula irae
Romanorum dederentur, avertissent colonias a consiliis
8 pacis. Neque in senatu solum per eos legatio impedita
est, sed magna pars plebis incitata, ut praedatum in
9 agrum Romanum exirent. Haec nova iniuria exturbavit
omnem spem pacis. De Praenestinorum quoque de-
fectione eo anno primum fama exorta; arguentibusque
eos Tusculanis et Gabinis et Lavicanis, quorum in fines
incursatum erat, ita placide ab senatu responsum est, ut
minus credi de criminibus, quia nollent ea vera esse,
appareret.

Ch. 22. § 1. *An army sent against the people of Velitrae defeats them and their allies of Praeneste, and war is declared against Praeneste. The Praenestines and Volscians take Satricum by storm.* § 5. *Camillus is elected Military Tribune for the sixth time, and leads a legion against Satricum.*

B.C. 382. Insequenti anno Sp. et L. Papirii novi tribuni mili-
1 tum consulari potestate Velitras legiones duxere, quattuor
collegis, Ser. Cornelio Maluginensi tertium, Q. Servilio,

C. Sulpicio, L. Aemilio quartum [tribunis], ad praesidium **B.C. 382.**
urbis et si qui ex Etruria novi motus nuntiarentur (omnia enim inde suspecta erant), relictis. Ad Velitras adversus 2
maiora paene auxilia Praenestinorum quam ipsam colonorum multitudinem secundo proelio pugnatum est ita, ut propinquitas urbis hosti et causa maturioris fugae et unum ex fuga receptaculum esset. Oppidi oppugnatione tribuni 3
abstinuere, quia et anceps erat nec in perniciem coloniae pugnandum censebant. Litterae Romam ad senatum cum victoriae nuntiis acriores in Praenestinum quam in Veliternum hostem missae. Itaque ex senatus consulto popu- 4
lique iussu bellum Praenestinis indictum: qui coniuncti Volscis anno insequente Satricum, coloniam populi Romani, pertinaciter a colonis defensam, vi expugnarunt foedeque in captis exercuere victoriam. Eam rem aegre **B.C. 381.**
passi Romani M. Furium Camillum sextum tribunum 5
militum creavere. Additi collegae A. et L. Postumii Regillenses ac L. Furius cum L. Lucretio et M. Fabio Ambusto. Volscum bellum M. Furio extra ordinem 6
decretum; adiutor ex tribunis sorte L. Furius datur, non tam e re publica, quam ut collegae materia ad omnem laudem esset, et publice, quod rem temeritate eius prolapsam restituit, et privatim, quod ex errore gratiam potius eius sibi quam suam gloriam petiit. Exactae iam aetatis 7
Camillus erat, comitiisque iurare parato in verba excusandae valetudini solita consensus populi restiterat; sed vegetum ingenium in vivido pectore vigebat, virebatque integris sensibus, et civiles iam res haud magnopere obeuntem bella excitabant. Quattuor legionibus qua- 8
ternum millium scriptis, exercitu indicto ad portam Esquilinam in posteram diem, ad Satricum profectus. Ibi eum 9
expugnatores coloniae haudquaquam perculsi, fidentes

B.C. 381. militum numero, quo aliquantum praestabant, opperiebantur. Postquam appropinquare Romanos senserunt, extemplo in aciem procedunt, nihil dilaturi, quin periculum summae rerum facerent: ita paucitati hostium nihil artes imperatoris unici, quibus solis confiderent, profuturas esse.

Ch. 23. *The enemy are anxious to fight: Camillus urges delay, but his colleague, L. Furius, insists on a battle.*

1 Idem ardor et in Romano exercitu erat et in altero
duce, nec praesentis dimicationis fortunam ulla res prae-
terquam unius viri consilium atque imperium morabatur,
qui occasionem iuvandarum ratione virium trahendo bello
2 quaerebat. Eo magis hostis instare, nec iam pro castris
tantum suis explicare aciem, sed procedere in medium
campi et vallo prope hostium signa inferendo superbam
3 fiduciam virium ostentare. Id aegre patiebatur Romanus
miles, multo aegrius alter ex tribunis militum, L. Furius,
ferox quum aetate et ingenio, tum multitudinis ex incer-
4 tissimo sumentis animos spe inflatus. Hic per se iam
milites incitatos insuper instigabat elevando, qua una
poterat, aetate auctoritatem collegae, iuvenibus bella data
dictitans, et cum corporibus vigere et deflorescere animos;
5 cunctatorem ex acerrimo bellatore factum, et, qui adve-
niens castra urbesque primo impetu rapere sit solitus, eum
residem intra vallum tempus terere, quid accessurum suis
6 decessurumve hostium viribus sperantem? quam occa-
sionem, quod tempus, quem insidiis instruendis locum?
Frigere ac torpere senis consilia. Sed Camillo quum
7 vitae satis, tum gloriae esse; quid attinere cum mortali
corpore uno civitatis, quam immortalem esse deceat, pati
8 consenescere vires? His sermonibus tota in se averterat

castra; et quum omnibus locis posceretur pugna, 'Susti- **B.C. 381.**
nere' inquit, 'M. Furi, non possumus impetum militum,
et hostis, cuius animos cunctando auximus, iam minime
toleranda superbia insultat; cede unus omnibus et patere
te vinci consilio, ut maturius bello vincas.' Ad ea Ca- 9
millus, quae bella suo unius auspicio gesta ad eam diem
essent, negare in eis neque se neque populum Romanum
aut consilii sui aut fortunae paenituisse; nunc scire se,
collegam habere iure imperioque parem, vigore aetatis
praestantem; itaque se, quod ad exercitum attineat, regere 10
consuesse, non regi; collegae imperium se non posse
impedire. Dis bene iuvantibus ageret, quod e re publica
duceret; aetati suae se veniam eam petere, ne in prima 11
acie esset; quae senis munia in bello sint, iis se non
defuturum. Id a dis immortalibus precari, ne qui casus
suum consilium laudabile efficiat. Nec ab hominibus 12
salutaris sententia nec a dis tam piae preces auditae sunt.
Primam aciem auctor pugnae instruit, subsidia Camillus
firmat validamque stationem pro castris opponit; ipse
edito loco spectator intentus in eventum alieni consilii
constitit.

The Romans yield shamefully, till Camillus leads them back to a great victory. Ch. 24.

Simul primo concursu concrepuere arma, hostis dolo, 1
non metu pedem rettulit. Lenis ab tergo clivus erat inter 2
aciem et castra; et, quod multitudo suppeditabat, aliquot
validas cohortes in castris armatas instructasque reliquerant, quae inter commissum iam certamen, ubi vallo
appropinquasset hostis, erumperent. Romanus cedentem 3
hostem effuse sequendo in locum iniquum pertractus opportunus huic eruptioni fuit; versus itaque in victorem

B.C. 381. terror et novo hoste et supina valle Romanam inclinavit
4 aciem. Instant Volsci recentes, qui e castris impetum
fecerant; integrant et illi pugnam, qui simulata cesserant
fuga. Iam non recipiebat se Romanus miles, sed im-
memor recentis ferociae veterisque decoris terga passim
5 dabat atque effuso cursu castra repetebat, quum Camillus
subiectus ab circumstantibus in equum et raptim subsidiis
oppositis, 'Haec est' inquit, 'milites, pugna, quam po-
poscistis? Quis homo, quis deus est, quem accusare
possitis? Vestra illa temeritas, vestra ignavia haec est.
6 Secuti alium ducem sequimini nunc Camillum et, quod
ductu meo soletis, vincite. Quid vallum et castra spec-
tatis? Neminem vestrum illa nisi victorem receptura
7 sunt.' Pudor primo tenuit effusos; inde, ut circumagi
signa obvertique aciem viderunt in hostem, et dux, prae-
terquam quod tot insignis triumphis, etiam aetate vene-
rabilis inter prima signa, ubi plurimus labor periculumque
erat, se offerebat, increpare singuli se quisque et alios, et
adhortatio in vicem totam alacri clamore pervasit aciem.
8 Neque alter tribunus rei defuit, sed missus a collega resti-
tuente peditum aciem ad equites, non castigando, ad quam
rem leviorem auctorem eum culpae societas fecerat, sed ab
imperio totus ad preces versus orare singulos universosque,
9 ut se reum fortunae eius diei crimine eximerent: 'Abnu-
ente ac prohibente collega, temeritati me omnium potius
socium quam unius prudentiae dedi. Camillus in utraque
vestra fortuna suam gloriam videt; ego, ni restituitur
pugna, quod miserrimum est, fortunam cum omnibus,
10 infamiam solus sentiam.' Optimum visum est in fluctuan-
tem aciem † tradi equos et pedestri pugna invadere hostem.
Eunt insignes armis animisque, qua premi parte maxime
peditum copias vident. Nihil neque apud duces neque

apud milites remittitur a summo certamine animi. Sensit **B.C. 381.**
ergo eventus virtutis enixae opem, et Volsci, qua modo 11
simulato metu cesserant, ea in veram fugam effusi, magna
pars et in ipso certamine et post in fuga caesi, ceteri in
castris, quae capta eodem impetu sunt; plures tamen
capti quam occisi.

Ch. 25.

§ 1. *Among the prisoners are Tusculans sent by their State.* § 5. *Rome declares war on Tusculum, and Camillus with L. Furius goes against them, but finds them persistent in peace.*

Ubi in recensendis captivis quum Tusculani aliquot 1
noscitarentur, secreti ab aliis ad tribunos adducuntur, per-
contantibusque fassi, publico consilio se militasse. Cuius 2
tam vicini belli metu Camillus motus extemplo se Romam
captivos ducturum ait, ne patres ignari sint, Tusculanos
ab societate descisse: castris exercituique interim, si vi-
deatur, praesit collega. Documento unus dies fuerat, ne 3
sua consilia melioribus praeferret; nec tamen aut ipsi aut
in exercitu cuiquam satis placato animo Camillus laturus
culpam eius videbatur, qua data in tam praecipitem casum
res publica esset; et quum in exercitu, tum Romae con- 4
stans omnium fama erat, quum varia fortuna in Volscis
gesta res esset, adversae pugnae fugaeque in L. Furio
culpam, secundae decus omne penes M. Furium esse.
Introductis in senatum captivis, quum bello persequendos 5
Tusculanos patres censuissent Camilloque id bellum man-
dassent, adiutorem sibi ad eam rem unum petit, permis-
soque, ut ex collegis optaret, quem vellet, contra spem
omnium L. Furium optavit, qua moderatione animi quum 6
collegae levavit infamiam, tum sibi gloriam ingentem
peperit. Nec fuit cum Tusculanis bellum; pace con-
stanti vim Romanam arcuerunt, quam armis non poterant.

B.C. 381. Intrantibus fines Romanis non demigratum ex propinquis
7 itineri locis, non cultus agrorum intermissus; patentibus
portis urbis togati obviam frequentes imperatoribus pro-
cessere; commeatus exercitui comiter in castra ex urbe
8 et ex agris devehitur. Camillus, castris ante portas
positis, eademne forma pacis, quae in agris ostentaretur,
9 etiam intra moenia esset, scire cupiens, ingressus urbem,
ubi patentes ianuas et tabernis apertis proposita omnia in
medio vidit, intentosque opifices suo quemque operi, et
ludos litterarum strepere discentium vocibus, ac repletas
semitas inter vulgus aliud puerorum et mulierum huc
10 atque illuc euntium, qua quemque suorum usuum causae
ferrent, nihil usquam non pavidis modo, sed ne mirantibus
quidem simile, circumspiciebat omnia, inquirens oculis, ubi-
11 nam bellum fuisset; adeo nec amotae rei usquam nec obla-
tae ad tempus vestigium ullum erat, sed ita omnia constanti
tranquilla pace, ut eo vix fama belli perlata videri posset.

Ch. 26. *Camillus sends some Tusculans to Rome, who there protest their good will, and obtain peace. Rome grants citizenship to Tusculum soon after.*

1 Victus igitur patientia hostium senatum eorum vocari
iussit. 'Soli adhuc' inquit, Tusculani, vera arma ve-
rasque vires, quibus ab ira Romanorum vestra tutaremini,
2 invenistis. Ite Romam ad senatum; aestimabunt patres,
utrum plus ante poenae an nunc veniae meriti sitis. Non
praecipiam gratiam publici beneficii; deprecandi potes-
tatem a me habueritis; precibus eventum vestris senatus,
3 quem videbitur, dabit.' Postquam Romam Tusculani
venerunt senatusque paulo ante fidelium sociorum maestus
in vestibulo curiae est conspectus, moti extemplo patres
vocari eos iam tum hospitaliter magis quam hostiliter
4 iussere. Dictator Tusculanus ita verba fecit: 'Quibus

bellum indixistis intulistisque, patres conscripti, sicut nunc **B.C. 381.**
videtis nos stantes in vestibulo curiae vestrae, ita armati
paratique obviam imperatoribus legionibusque vestris pro-
cessimus. Hic noster, hic plebis nostrae habitus fuit, 5
eritque semper, nisi si quando a vobis proque vobis arma
acceperimus. Gratias agimus et ducibus vestris et exer-
citibus, quod oculis magis quam auribus crediderunt et,
ubi nihil hostile erat, ne ipsi quidem fecerunt. Pacem, 6
quam nos praestitimus, eam a vobis petimus; bellum eo,
sicubi est, avertatis precamur; in nos quid arma polleant
vestra, si patiendo experiundum est, inermes experiemur.
Haec mens nostra est, di immortales faciant, tam felix,
quam pia. Quod ad crimina attinet, quibus moti bellum 7
indixistis, etsi revicta rebus verbis confutare nihil attinet,
tamen, etiamsi vera sint, vel fateri nobis ea, quum tam
evidenter paenituerit, tutum censemus. Peccetur in vos,
dum digni sitis, quibus ita satisfiat.' Tantum fere ver- 8
borum ab Tusculanis factum. Pacem in praesentia, nec
ita multo post civitatem etiam impetraverunt. Ab Tusculo
legiones reductae.

Censors are appointed on account of the prevailing condition of debt; but no census is taken. The Tribunes of the plebs defend the debtors, and the citizens refuse to serve in the army. Ch. 27.

Camillus, consilio et virtute in Volsco bello, felicitate 1
in Tusculana expeditione, utrobique singulari adversus col-
legam patientia et moderatione insignis, magistratu abiit, 2
creatis tribunis militaribus in insequentem annum L. et P. **B.C. 380.**
Valeriis, Lucio quintum, Publio tertium, et C. Sergio ter-
tium, L. Menenio iterum, P. Papirio, Ser. Cornelio Malu-
ginense. Censoribus quoque eguit annus, maxime propter 3
incertam famam aeris alieni, aggravantibus summam etiam
invidiosius tribunis plebis, quum ab iis elevaretur, quibus

B.C. 380. fide magis quam fortuna debentium laborare creditum
4 videri expediebat. Creati censores C. Sulpicius Camerinus, Sp. Postumius Regillensis, coeptaque iam res morte Postumii, quia collegam suffici censori religio erat, inter-
5 pellata est. Igitur quum Sulpicius abdicasset se magistratu, censores alii vitio creati non gesserunt magistratum; tertios creari, velut dis non accipientibus in eum annum
6 censuram, religiosum fuit. Eam vero ludificationem plebis tribuni ferendam negabant: fugere senatum testes tabulas publicas census cuiusque, quia nolint conspici summam aeris alieni, quae indicatura sit, demersam partem a parte civitatis, quum interim obaeratam plebem obiectari aliis
7 atque aliis hostibus. Passim iam sine ullo discrimine bella quaeri: ab Antio Satricum, ab Satrico Velitras, inde Tusculum legiones ductas; Latinis, Hernicis, Praenestinis iam intentari arma, civium magis quam hostium odio, ut in armis terant plebem nec respirare in urbe aut per otium libertatis meminisse sinant aut consistere in contione, ubi aliquando audiant vocem tribuniciam de levando fenore et
8 fine aliarum iniuriarum agentem. Quod si sit animus plebi memor patrum libertatis, se nec addici quemquam civem Romanum ob creditam pecuniam passuros neque dilectum haberi, donec, inspecto aere alieno initaque ratione minuendi eius, sciat unusquisque, quid sui, quid alieni sit, supersit sibi liberum corpus an id quoque nervo
9 debeatur. Merces seditionis proposita confestim seditionem excitavit. Nam et addicebantur multi, et ad Praenestini famam belli novas legiones scribendas patres censuerant; quae utraque simul auxilio tribunicio et
10 consensu plebis impediri coepta; nam neque duci addictos tribuni sinebant, neque iuniores nomina dabant. Quum patribus minor *in* praesens cura creditae pecuniae

iuris exsequendi quam dilectus esset (quippe iam a Prae- **B.C. 380.**
neste profectos hostes in agro Gabino consedisse nuntiabatur), interim tribunos plebis fama ea ipsa irritaverat 11
magis ad susceptum certamen quam deterruerat, neque aliud ad seditionem exstinguendam in urbe quam prope illatum moenibus ipsis bellum valuit.

§ 1. *The Praenestines advance to the Colline Gate, but retire when T. Quinctius Cincinnatus is named Dictator.* § 5. *They encamp near the Alia: and an army is now easily raised to meet them.* **Ch. 28.**

Nam quum esset Praenestinis nuntiatum, nullum exer- 1
citum conscriptum Romae, nullum ducem certum esse,
patres ac plebem in semet ipsos versos, occasionem rati 2
duces eorum, raptim agmine acto, pervastatis protinus
agris, ad portam Collinam signa intulere. Ingens in urbe 3
trepidatio fuit. Conclamatum 'Ad arma,' concursumque
in muros atque portas est; tandemque ab seditione ad
bellum versi dictatorem T. Quinctium Cincinnatum creavere. Is magistrum equitum A. Sempronium Atratinum 4
dixit. Quod ubi auditum est (tantus eius magistratus
terror erat), simul hostes a moenibus recessere et iuniores
Romani ad edictum sine retractatione convenere. Dum 5
conscribitur Romae exercitus, castra interim hostium haud
procul Alia flumine posita; inde agrum late populantes
fatalem se urbi Romanae locum cepisse, inter se iactabant;
similem pavorem inde ac fugam fore, ac bello Gallico 6
fuerit; etenim si diem contactum religione insignemque
nomine eius loci timeant Romani, quanto magis Aliensi
die Aliam ipsam, monumentum tantae cladis, reformidaturos? species profecto iis ibi truces Gallorum sonumque
vocis in oculis atque auribus fore. Has inanium rerum 7
inanes ipsas volventes cogitationes, fortunae loci delega-

B.C. 380. verant spes suas. Romani contra, ubicunque esset Latinus
hostis, satis scire, eum esse, quem ad Regillum lacum de-
8 victum centum annorum pace obnoxia tenuerint: locum
insignem memoria cladis irritaturum se potius ad delendam
memoriam dedecoris, quam ut timorem faciat, ne qua terra
9 sit nefasta victoriae suae; quin ipsi sibi Galli si offerantur
illo loco, se ita pugnaturos, ut Romae pugnaverint in
repetenda patria, ut postero die ad Gabios, tunc quum
effecerint, ne quis hostis, qui moenia Romana intrasset,
nuntium secundae adversaeque fortunae domum perferret.

Ch. 29. § 1. *Cincinnatus defeats the Praenestines, and takes Velitrae and eight other towns: whereupon Praeneste surrenders.* § 8. *Cincinnatus resigns after a triumph.*

1 His utrinque animis ad Aliam ventum est. Dictator
Romanus postquam in conspectu hostes erant instructi
intentique, 'Videsne tu' inquit, 'A. Semproni, loci fortuna
illos fretos ad Aliam constitisse? nec illis di immortales
certioris quicquam fiduciae, maiorisve quod sit auxilii,
2 dederint. At tu, fretus armis animisque, concitatis equis
invade mediam aciem; ego cum legionibus in turbatos
trepidantesque inferam signa. Adeste, di testes foederis,
et expetite poenas debitas simul vobis violatis nobisque
3 per vestrum numen deceptis.' Non equitem, non peditem
sustinuere Praenestini. Primo impetu et clamore dissipati
ordines sunt; dein postquam nullo loco constabat acies,
terga vertunt, consternatique et praeter castra etiam sua
pavore praelati non prius se ab effuso cursu sistunt, quam
4 in conspectu Praeneste fuit. Ibi ex fuga dissipata locum,
quem tumultuario opere communirent, capiunt, ne, si intra
moenia se recepissent, extemplo ureretur ager depopula-
5 tisque omnibus obsidio urbi inferretur. Sed postquam,
direptis ad Aliam castris, victor Romanus aderat, id

quoque munimentum relictum, et vix moenia tuta rati **B.C. 380.**
oppido se Praeneste includunt. Octo praeterea oppida 6
erant sub dicione Praenestinorum; ad ea circumlatum
bellum, deincepsque haud magno certamine captis, Velitras
exercitus ductus. Eae quoque expugnatae. Tum ad 7
caput belli Praeneste ventum. Id non vi, sed per dedi- 8
tionem receptum est. T. Quinctius, semel acie victor,
binis castris hostium, novem oppidis vi captis, Praeneste
in deditionem accepto, Romam revertit, triumphansque
signum Praeneste devectum Iovis imperatoris in Capitolium
tulit. Dedicatum est inter cellam Iovis ac Minervae, 9
tabulaque sub eo fixa, monumentum rerum gestarum, his
ferme incisa litteris fuit: 'Iuppiter atque divi omnes hoc 10
dederunt, ut T. Quinctius dictator oppida novem caperet.'
Die vicesimo, quam creatus erat, dictatura se abdicavit.

§ 1. *Three out of six Military Tribunes are plebeian.* § 3. *The two Manlii, commanding against the Volscians, are entrapped, and suffer heavy loss; but the Volscians do not use their opportunity.* § 8. *Praeneste stirs the Latins to revolt. Setia receives new colonists.* **Ch. 30.**

Comitia inde habita tribunorum militum consulari 1
potestate, quibus aequatus patriciorum plebeiorumque **B.C. 379.**
numerus. Ex patribus creati P. et C. Manlii cum L. 2
Iulio; plebes C. Sextilium, M. Albinium, L. Antistium
dedit. Manliis, quod genere plebeios, gratia Iulium 3
anteibant, Volsci provincia sine sorte, sine comparatione
extra ordinem data; cuius et ipsos postmodo et patres,
qui dederant, paenituit. Inexplorato pabulatum cohortes 4
misere; quibus velut circumventis, quum id falso nun-
tiatum esset, dum, praesidio ut essent, citati feruntur, ne
auctore quidem asservato, qui eos hostis Latinus pro
milite Romano frustratus erat, ipsi in insidias praecipita-

B.C. 379. vere. Ibi dum iniquo loco, sola virtute militum restantes,
5 caedunt caedunturque, castra interim Romana, iacentia in
6 campo, ab altera parte hostes invasere. Ab ducibus
utrobique proditae temeritate atque inscitia res; quicquid
superfuit fortunae populi Romani, id militum etiam sine
7 rectore stabilis virtus tutata est. Quae ubi Romam sunt
relata, primum dictatorem dici placebat; deinde, postquam
quietae res ex Volscis afferebantur et apparuit, nescire eos
victoria et tempore uti, revocati etiam inde exercitus ac
8 duces, otiumque inde, quantum a Volscis, fuit; id modo
extremo anno tumultuatum, quod Praenestini, concitatis
9 Latinorum populis, rebellarunt. Eodem anno Setiam,
ipsis querentibus penuriam hominum, novi coloni adscripti;
rebusque haud prosperis bello domestica quies, quam
tribunorum militum ex plebe gratia maiestasque inter suos
obtinuit, solatium fuit.

B.C. 378. § 1. *Debt still presses heavily, and the Senate, to raise an army against the Volscians, have to suspend the* tributum (*war-tax*) *and the trial of debtors.* § 5. *The Volscian land is completely laid waste.*

Ch. 31. 1 Insequentis anni principia statim seditione ingenti
arsere, tribunis militum consulari potestate Sp. Furio, Q.
Servilio iterum, L. Menenio tertium, P. Cloelio, M. Horatio,
2 L. Geganio. Erat autem et materia et causa seditionis
aes alienum; cuius noscendi gratia Sp. Servilius Priscus,
Q. Cloelius Siculus censores facti, ne rem agerent, bello
3 impediti sunt; namque trepidi nuntii primo, fuga deinde
ex agris legiones Volscorum ingressas fines popularique
4 passim Romanum agrum attulere. In qua trepidatione
tantum afuit, ut civilia certamina terror externus cohiberet,
ut contra eo violentior potestas tribunicia impediendo
dilectu esset, donec condiciones impositae patribus, ne
quis, quoad debellatum esset, tributum daret aut ius de

pecunia credita diceretur. Eo laxamento plebi sumpto, B.C. 378.
mora dilectui non est facta. Legionibus novis scriptis, 5
placuit duos exercitus in agrum Volscum legionibus divisis
duci. Sp. Furius, M. Horatius dextrorsus *in* maritimam
oram atque Antium, Q. Servilius et L. Geganius laeva ad
montes Ecetram pergunt. Neutra parte hostis obvius fuit.
Populatio itaque non illi vagae similis, quam Volscus 6
latrocinii more, discordiae hostium fretus et virtutem
metuens, per trepidationem raptim fecerat, sed ab iusto
exercitu iusta ira facta, spatio quoque temporis gravior.
Quippe a Volscis, timentibus, ne interim exercitus ab 7
Roma exiret, incursiones in extrema finium factae erant;
Romano contra etiam in hostico morandi causa erat, ut
hostem ad certamen eliceret. Itaque omnibus passim 8
tectis agrorum vicisque etiam quibusdam exustis, non
arbore frugifera, non satis in spem frugum relictis, omni,
quae extra moenia fuit, hominum pecudumque praeda
abacta, Romam utrinque exercitus reducti.

§ 1. *Trials for debt recommence, and the* tributum *is renewed.* Ch. 32.
§ 3. *The Military Tribunes are all patrician. Three armies are raised for war against Volscians and Latins.* § 7. *The Latins, trained in Roman warfare, fight well, but they are defeated and fly to Satricum, and thence to Antium.*

Parvo intervallo ad respirandum debitoribus dato, post- 1
quam quietae res ab hostibus erant, celebrari de integro
iurisdictio, et tantum abesse spes veteris levandi fenoris,
ut tributo novum fenus contraheretur in murum a cen-
soribus locatum saxo quadrato faciundum; cui succum- 2
bere oneri coacta plebes, quia, quem dilectum impedirent,
non habebant tribuni plebis. Tribunos etiam militares 3
patricios omnes coacta principum opibus fecit, L. Aemilium, B.C. 377.
P. Valerium quartum, C. Veturium, Ser. Sulpicium, L. et

B.C. 377. C. Quinctios Cincinnatos. Iisdem opibus obtinuere, ut
4 adversus Latinos Volscosque, qui coniunctis legionibus ad Satricum castra habebant, nullo impediente omnibus iunioribus sacramento adactis, tres exercitus scriberent,
5 unum ad praesidium urbis, alterum, qui, si qui alibi motus exstitisset, ad subita belli mitti posset; tertium longe validissimum P. Valerius et L. Aemilius ad Satricum
6 duxere. Ubi quum aciem instructam hostium loco aequo invenissent, extemplo pugnatum; et ut nondum satis claram victoriam, sic prosperae spei pugnam imber
7 ingentibus procellis fusus diremit. Postero die iterata pugna, et aliquamdiu aequa virtute fortunaque Latinae maxime legiones, longa societate militiam Romanam
8 edoctae, restabant. Eques immissus ordines turbavit; turbatis signa peditum illata, quantumque Romana se invexit acies, tantum hostes gradu demoti; et ut semel
9 inclinavit pugna, iam intolerabilis Romana vis erat. Fusi hostes quum Satricum, quod duo millia inde aberat, non castra peterent, ab equite maxime caesi; castra capta
10 direptaque. Ab Satrico nocte, quae proelio proxima fuit, fugae simili agmine petunt Antium; et quum Romanus exercitus prope vestigiis sequeretur, plus tamen timor
11 quam ira celeritatis habuit. Prius itaque moenia intravere hostes, quam Romanus extrema agminis carpere aut morari posset. Inde aliquot dies vastando agro absumpti, nec Romanis satis instructis apparatu bellico ad moenia aggredienda nec illis ad subeundum pugnae casum.

Ch. 33. § 1. *The Latins quarrel with the Antiates, who surrender to Rome.* § 4. *The Latins in their rage burn Satricum, and take Tusculum, all but the citadel; but the Romans recover the city, and slay the Latins to a man.*

1 Seditio tum inter Antiates Latinosque coorta, quum

Antiates victi malis subactique bello, in quo et nati erant **B.C. 377.**
et consenuerant, deditionem spectarent, Latinos ex diutina 2
pace nova defectio recentibus adhuc animis ferociores ad
perseverandum in bello faceret. Finis certaminis fuit,
postquam utrisque apparuit, nihil per alteros stare, quo
minus incepta persequerentur. Latini profecti a societate 3
pacis, ut rebantur, inhonestae sese vindicaverunt; Antiates,
incommodis arbitris salutarium consiliorum remotis, urbem
agrosque Romanis dedunt. Ira et rabies Latinorum, quia 4
nec Romanos bello laedere nec Volscos in armis retinere
potuerant, eo erupit, ut Satricum urbem, quae recepta-
culum primum eis adversae pugnae fuerat, igni concre-
marent. Nec aliud tectum eius superfuit urbis, quum
faces pariter sacris profanisque iniicerent, quam matris
Matutae templum; inde eos nec sua religio nec verecundia 5
deum arcuisse dicitur, sed vox horrenda edita templo cum
tristibus minis, ni nefandos ignes procul delubris amovis-
sent. Incensos ea rabie impetus Tusculum tulit ob iram, 6
quod deserto communi concilio Latinorum non in so-
cietatem modo Romanam, sed etiam in civitatem se
dedissent. Patentibus portis quum improviso incidissent, 7
primo clamore oppidum praeter arcem captum est. In
arcem oppidani refugere cum coniugibus ac liberis,
nuntiosque Romam, qui certiorem de suo casu senatum
facerent, misere. Haud segnius, quam fide populi Romani 8
dignum fuit, exercitus Tusculum ductus; L. Quinctius et
Ser. Sulpicius tribuni militum duxere. Clausas portas 9
[Tusculi], Latinosque simul obsidentium atque obses-
sorum animo hinc moenia Tusculi tueri vident, illinc
arcem oppugnare, terrere una ac pavere. Adventus 10
Romanorum mutaverat utriusque partis animos: Tuscu-
lanos ex ingenti metu in summam alacritatem, Latinos ex

B.C. 377–6. prope certa fiducia mox capiendae arcis, quoniam oppido potirentur, in exiguam de se ipsis spem verterat. 11 Tollitur ex arce clamor ab Tusculanis; excipit aliquanto maior ab exercitu Romano. Utrinque urgentur Latini; nec impetus Tusculanorum decurrentium ex superiore loco sustinent nec Romanos subeuntes moenia molientesque obices portarum arcere possunt. 12 Scalis prius moenia capta, inde effracta claustra portarum; et quum anceps hostis et a fronte et a tergo urgeret, nec ad pugnam ulla vis nec ad fugam loci quicquam superesset, in medio caesi ad unum omnes. Recuperato ab hostibus Tusculo, exercitus Romam est reductus.

Ch. 34. § 1. *Meantime the distress of debt increases, and even the leaders of the plebs lose heart.* § 5. *But a woman's envy gives the occasion for a plebeian agitation, led by M. Fabius and his son-in-law C. Licinius Stolo.*

1 Quanto magis prosperis eo anno bellis tranquilla omnia foris erant, tantum in urbe vis patrum in dies miseriaeque plebis crescebant, quum eo ipso, quod necesse erat solvi, 2 facultas solvendi impediretur. Itaque quum iam ex re nihil dari posset, fama et corpore, iudicati atque addicti, creditoribus satisfaciebant, poenaque in vicem fidei cesserat. 3 Adeo ergo obnoxios summiserant animos non infirmi solum, sed principes etiam plebis, ut non modo ad 4 tribunatum militum inter patricios petendum, quod tanta vi ut liceret tetenderant, sed ne ad plebeios quidem magistratus capessendos petendosque ulli viro acri experientique animus esset, possessionemque honoris usurpati modo a plebe per paucos annos recuperasse in perpetuum patres 5 viderentur. Ne id nimis laetum parti alteri esset, parva, ut plerumque solet, rem ingentem moliundi causa intervenit. M. Fabii Ambusti, potentis viri quum inter sui

corporis homines, tum etiam ad plebem, quod haudqua- B.C. 376
quam inter id genus contemptor eius habebatur, filiae duae
nuptae, Ser. Sulpicio maior, minor C. Licinio Stoloni erat,
illustri quidem viro, tamen plebeio; eaque ipsa affinitas
haud spreta gratiam Fabio ad vulgum quaesierat. Forte 6
ita incidit, ut in Ser. Sulpicii tribuni militum domo sorores
Fabiae quum inter se, ut fit, sermonibus tempus tererent,
lictor Sulpicii, quum is de foro se domum reciperet, forem,
ut mos est, virga percuteret. Quum ad id, moris eius
insueta, expavisset minor Fabia, risui sorori fuit, miranti 7
ignorare id sororem; ceterum is risus stimulos parvis
mobili rebus animo muliebri subdidit. Frequentia quoque
prosequentium rogantiumque, num quid vellet, credo for-
tunatum matrimonium ei sororis visum, suique ipsam
malo arbitrio, quo a proximis quisque minime anteiri vult,
paenituisse. Confusam eam ex recenti morsu animi quum 8
pater forte vidisset, percontatus 'Satin' salve?' avertentem
causam doloris, quippe nec satis piam adversus sororem
nec admodum in virum honorificam, elicuit comiter scisci- 9
tando, ut fateretur, eam esse causam doloris, quod iuncta
impari esset, nupta in domo, quam nec honos nec gratia
intrare posset. Consolans inde filiam Ambustus bonum 10
animum habere iussit: eosdem propediem domi visuram
honores, quos apud sororem videat. Inde consilia inire 11
cum genero coepit, adhibito L. Sextio, strenuo adolescente
et cuius spei nihil praeter genus patricium deesset.

[The events of this chapter seem to belong to the year 376 B.C., but no list of Military Tribunes is given by Livy.]

B.C. 375. § 1. *C. Licinius and L. Sextius are elected Tribunes of the plebs, and bring forward three laws in the interests of the Plebs—* (1) *for relief of debt;* (2) *imposing a limit on the occupation of land;* (3) *abolishing the Military Tribunate, and enacting that one Consul must be a plebeian.* § 7. *The Patricians find Tribunes to intervene. Licinius and Sextius retort by preventing all elections except plebeian, and are reelected Tribunes of the plebs for five years in succession.*

Ch. 35. 1 Occasio videbatur rerum novandarum propter ingentem vim aeris alieni, cuius levamen mali plebes, nisi suis in
2 summo imperio locatis, nullum speraret: accingendum ad eam cogitationem esse; conando agendoque iam eo gradum fecisse plebeios, unde si porro annitantur, pervenire ad summa et patribus aequari tam honore quam virtute
3 possent. In praesentia tribunos plebis fieri placuit, quo in magistratu sibimet ipsi viam ad ceteros honores aperi-
4 rent. Creatique tribuni C. Licinius et L. Sextius promulgavere leges omnes adversus opes patriciorum et pro commodis plebis, unam de aere alieno, ut, deducto eo de capite, quod usuris pernumeratum esset, id, quod super-
5 esset, triennio aequis pensionibus persolveretur; alteram de modo agrorum, ne quis plus quingenta iugera agri possideret, tertiam, ne tribunorum militum comitia fierent, consulumque utique alter ex plebe crearetur; cuncta ingentia et quae sine certamine maximo obtineri non
6 possent. Omnium igitur simul rerum, quarum immodica cupido inter mortales est, agri, pecuniae, honorum, discrimine proposito, conterriti patres quum trepidassent publicis privatisque consiliis, nullo remedio alio praeter expertam multis iam ante certaminibus intercessionem invento, collegas adversus tribunicias rogationes compara-
7 verunt. Qui ubi tribus ad suffragium ineundum citari a

Licinio Sextioque viderunt, stipati patrum praesidiis nec **B.C. 375.**
recitari rogationes nec sollemne quicquam aliud ad sciscen-
dum plebi fieri passi sunt. Iamque frustra saepe concilio 8
advocato, quum pro antiquatis rogationes essent, 'Bene
habet' inquit Sextius. 'Quando quidem tantum interces-
sionem pollere placet, isto ipso telo tutabimur plebem.
Agite dum, comitia indicite, patres, tribunis militum cre- 9
andis; faxo, ne iuvet vox ista veto, qua nunc concinentes
collegas nostros tam laeti auditis.' Haud irritae cecidere 10
minae; comitia, praeter aedilium tribunorumque plebi,
nulla sunt habita. Licinius Sextiusque tribuni plebis
refecti nullos curules magistratus creari passi sunt, eaque **B.C.**
solitudo magistratuum, et plebe reficiente duos tribunos **374–1.**
et iis comitia tribunorum militum tollentibus, per quin-
quennium urbem tenuit.

§ 1. *But an attack of the people of Velitrae upon Tusculum induces the Tribunes of the plebs to yield, and Military Tribunes are elected.* § 5. *Velitrae is besieged, but with no great success; and the Tribunes of the plebs, with the support of Fabius, renew their agitations.* **Ch. 36.**

Alia bella opportune quievere; Veliterni coloni ges- 1
tientes otio, quod nullus exercitus Romanus esset, et
agrum Romanum aliquoties incursavere et Tusculum
oppugnare adorti sunt; eaque res, Tusculanis veteribus 2
sociis, novis civibus opem orantibus, verecundia maxime
non patres modo, sed etiam plebem movit. Remittentibus 3
tribunis plebis comitia per interregem sunt habita; crea-
tique tribuni militum L. Furius, A Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius,
Ser. Cornelius, P. et C. Valerii haudquaquam tam obedi- **B.C. 370.**
entem in dilectu quam in comitiis plebem habuere; in- 4
gentique contentione exercitu scripto, profecti non ab
Tusculo modo summovere hostem, sed intra suamet

B.C. 370. ipsum moenia compulere, obsidebanturque haud paulo vi
5 maiore Velitrae, quam Tusculum obsessum fuerat. Nec
tamen ab eis, a quibus obsideri coeptae erant, expugnari
6 potuere; ante novi creati sunt tribuni militum, Q. Ser-
B.C. 369. vilius, C. Veturius, A. et M. Cornelii, Q. Quinctius, M.
Fabius. Nihil ne ab iis quidem tribunis ad Velitras
7 memorabile factum. In maiore discrimine domi res ver-
tebantur. Nam praeter Sextium Liciniumque latores
legum, iam octavum tribunos plebis refectos, Fabius
quoque tribunus militum, Stolonis socer, quarum legum
auctor fuerat, earum suasorem se haud dubium ferebat,
8 et quum octo ex collegio tribunorum plebi primo inter-
cessores legum fuissent, quinque soli erant, et, ut ferme
solent, qui a suis desciscunt, capti et stupentes, animis *a*
9 voce alienis, id modo, quod domi praeceptum erat, inter-
cessioni suae praetendebant, Velitris in exercitu plebis
magnam partem abesse; in adventum militum comitia
differri debere, ut universa plebes de suis commodis
10 suffragium ferret. Sextius Liciniusque cum parte colle-
garum et uno ex tribunis militum Fabio, artifices iam tot
annorum usu tractandi animos plebis, primores patrum
productos interrogando de singulis, quae ferebantur ad
11 populum, fatigabant; auderentne postulare, ut, quum bina
iugera agri plebi dividerentur, ipsis plus quingenta iugera
habere liceret, ut singuli prope trecentorum civium possi-
derent agros, plebeio homini vix ad tectum necessarium
12 aut locum sepulturae suus pateret ager? an placeret, fenore
circumventam plebem, potius quam sorte creditum solvat,
corpus in nervum ac supplicia dare, et gregatim quotidie
de foro addictos duci, et repleri vinctis nobiles domus et
ubicumque patricius habitet, ibi carcerem privatum esse?

§ 1. *They insist that a secure share in the consulship is the one thing needful for the Plebs;* § 12. *and they add to their proposals (4) a law to appoint decemviri instead of duumviri sacris faciundis, half to be plebeian.* B.C. 369.

Haec indigna miserandaque auditu quum apud ti- 1 Ch. 37. mentes sibimet ipsos, maiore audientium indignatione quam sua, increpuissent, atqui nec agros occupandi mo- 2 dum nec fenore trucidandi plebem alium patribus unquam fore affirmabant, nisi alterum ex plebe consulem, custodem suae libertatis, plebes fecisset. Contemni iam 3 tribunos plebis, quippe quae potestas iam suam ipsa vim frangat intercedendo. Non posse aequo iure agi, ubi 4 imperium penes illos, penes se auxilium tantum sit; nisi imperio communicato, nunquam plebem in parte pari rei publicae fore. Nec esse, quod quisquam satis putet, si plebeiorum ratio comitiis consularibus habeatur; nisi alterum consulem utique ex plebe fieri necesse sit, neminem fore. An iam memoria exisse, quum tribunos militum 5 idcirco potius quam consules creari placuisset, ut et plebeiis pateret summus honos, quattuor et quadraginta annis neminem ex plebe tribunum militum creatum esse? Quid 6 crederent? duobusne in locis sua voluntate impertituros plebi honorem, qui octona loca tribunis militum creandis occupare soliti sint, et ad consulatum viam fieri passuros, qui tribunatum saeptum tam diu habuerint? Lege obti- 7 nendum esse, quod comitiis per gratiam nequeat, et seponendum extra certamen alterum consulatum, ad quem plebi sit aditus, quoniam in certamine relictus praemium semper potentioris futurus sit. Nec iam posse dici id, 8 quod antea iactare soliti sint, non esse in plebeiis idoneos viros ad curules magistratus. Numquid enim socordius aut segnius rem publicam administrari post P. Licinii

B.C. 369. Calvi tribunatum, qui primus ex plebe creatus sit, quam per eos annos gesta sit, quibus praeter patricios nemo
9 tribunus militum fuerit? quin contra patricios aliquot damnatos post tribunatum, neminem plebeium. Quaestores quoque, sicut tribunos militum, paucis ante annis ex plebe coeptos creari, nec ullius eorum populum Romanum
10 paenituisse. Consulatum superesse plebeiis; eam esse arcem libertatis, id columen. Si eo perventum sit, tum populum Romanum vere exactos ex urbe reges et stabilem
11 libertatem suam existimaturum; quippe ex illa die in plebem ventura omnia, quibus patricii excellant, imperium atque honorem, gloriam belli, genus, nobilitatem, magna
12 ipsis fruenda, maiora liberis relinquenda. Huius generis orationes ubi accipi videre, novam rogationem promulgant, ut pro duumviris sacris faciundis decemviri creentur, ita ut pars ex plebe, pars ex patribus fiat; omniumque earum rogationum comitia in adventum eius exercitus differunt, qui Velitras obsidebat.

Ch. 38. *The struggle over these laws is so fierce that Camillus is appointed Dictator; the Tribunes of the plebs refuse to heed the veto, and Camillus threatens force, but presently resigns.*

1 Prius circumactus est annus, quam a Velitris reducerentur legiones; ita suspensa de legibus res ad novos tribunos militum dilata; nam plebis tribunos eosdem, duos utique, qui legum latores erant, plebes reficiebat. Tribuni
B.C. 368. militum creati T. Quinctius, Ser. Cornelius, Ser. Sulpicius,
2 Sp. Servilius, L. Papirius, L. Veturius. Principio statim
3 anni ad ultimam dimicationem de legibus ventum; et quum tribus vocarentur nec intercessio collegarum latoribus obstaret, trepidi patres ad duo ultima auxilia, sum-
4 mum imperium summumque [ad] civem decurrunt. Dictatorem dici placet; dicitur M. Furius Camillus, qui

magistrum equitum L. Aemilium cooptat. Legum quoque B.C. 368.
latores adversus tantum apparatum adversariorum et ipsi
causam plebis ingentibus animis armant, concilioque plebis
indicto, tribus ad suffragium vocant. Quum dictator, 5
stipatus agmine patriciorum, plenus irae minarumque
consedisset, atque ageretur res solito primum certamine
inter se tribunorum plebi ferentium legem intercedenti-
umque, et, quanto iure potentior intercessio erat, tantum
vinceretur favore legum ipsarum latorumque, et 'Uti rogas' 6
primae tribus dicerent, tum Camillus 'Quando quidem'
inquit, 'Quirites, iam vos tribunicia libido, non potestas
regit, et intercessionem, secessione quondam plebis partam,
vobis eadem vi facitis irritam, qua peperistis, non rei
publicae magis universae quam vestra causa dictator inter-
cessioni adero eversumque vestrum auxilium imperio
tutabor. Itaque si C. Licinius et L. Sextius intercessioni 7
collegarum cedunt, nihil patricium magistratum inseram
concilio plebis; si adversus intercessionem tanquam captae
civitati leges imponere tendent, vim tribuniciam a se ipsa
dissolvi non patiar.' Adversus ea quum contemptim tri- 8
buni plebis rem nihilo segnius peragerent, tum percitus
ira Camillus lictores, qui de medio plebem emoverent,
misit et addidit minas, si pergerent, sacramento omnes
iuniores adacturum exercitumque extemplo ex urbe educ-
turum. Terrorem ingentem incusserat plebi; ducibus 9
plebis accendit magis certamine animos quam minuit.
Sed re neutro inclinata magistratu se abdicavit, seu quia
vitio creatus erat, ut scripsere quidam, seu quia tribuni
plebis tulerunt ad plebem idque plebs scivit, ut, si M.
Furius pro dictatore quid egisset, quingentum millium ei 10
multa esset; sed auspiciis magis quam novi exempli roga-
tione deterritum ut potius credam, quum ipsius viri facit

B.C. 368. ingenium, tum quod ei suffectus est extemplo P. Manlius dictator, quem quid creari attinebat ad id certamen, quo
11 M. Furius victus esset? et quod eundem M. Furium dictatorem insequens annus habuit, haud sine pudore certe fractum priore anno in se imperium repetiturum; simul
12 quod eo tempore, quo promulgatum de multa eius traditur, aut et huic rogationi, qua se in ordinem cogi videbat,
13 obsistere potuit aut ne illas quidem, propter quas et haec lata erat, impedire, et quod usque ad memoriam nostram tribuniciis consularibusque certatum viribus est, dictaturae semper altius fastigium fuit.

Ch. 39. § 1. *P. Manlius is named Dictator, and appoints C. Licinius master of the horse.* § 2. *The Plebs support the proposals* (1) *on relief of debt;* (2) *on land, but not* (3) *the law for opening the consulship. Licinius and Sextius complain of their selfishness.*

1 Inter priorem dictaturam abdicatam novamque a Manlio initam ab tribunis velut per interregnum concilio plebis habito, apparuit, quae ex promulgatis plebi, quae
2 latoribus gratiora essent. Nam de fenore atque agro rogationes iubebant, de plebeio consule antiquabant; et perfecta utraque res esset, ni tribuni se in omnia
3 simul consulere plebem dixissent. P. Manlius deinde dictator rem in causam plebis inclinavit, C. Licinio, qui tribunus militum fuerat, magistro equitum de plebe
4 dicto. Id aegre patres passos accipio; dictatorem propinqua cognatione Licinii se apud patres excusare solitum, simul negantem, magistri equitum maius quam tribuni
5 consularis imperium esse. Licinius Sextiusque, quum tribunorum plebi creandorum indicta comitia essent, ita se gerere, ut negando, iam sibi velle continuari honorem, acerrime accenderent ad id, quod dissimulando petebant,
6 plebem. Nonum se annum iam velut in acie adversus

optimates maximo privatim periculo, nullo publice emolu- B.C. 368.
mento stare. Consenuisse iam secum et rogationes promulgatas et vim omnem tribuniciae potestatis. Primo 7
intercessione collegarum in leges suas pugnatum esse, deinde ablegatione iuventutis ad Veliternum bellum; postremo dictatorium fulmen in se intentatum. Iam nec 8
collegas nec bellum nec dictatorem obstare, quippe qui etiam omen plebeio consuli magistro equitum ex plebe dicendo dederit; se ipsam plebem et commoda morari sua. Liberam urbem ac forum a creditoribus, liberos 9
agros ab iniustis possessoribus extemplo, si velit, habere posse. Quae munera quando tandem satis grato animo 10
aestimaturos, si inter accipiendas de suis commodis rogationes spem honoris latoribus earum incidant? Non esse modestiae populi Romani id postulare, ut ipse fenore levetur et in agrum iniuria possessum a potentibus inducatur: per quos ea consecutus sit, senes tribunicios non sine honore tantum, sed etiam sine spe honoris relinquat. Proinde ipsi primum statuerent apud animos, quid vellent, 11
deinde comitiis tribuniciis declararent voluntatem. Si coniuncte ferri ab se promulgatas rogationes vellent, esse, quod eosdem reficerent tribunos plebis; perlaturos enim, quae promulgaverint; sin, quod cuique privatim opus sit, 12
id modo accipi velint, opus esse nihil invidiosa continuatione honoris; nec se tribunatum nec illos ea, quae promulgata sint, habituros.

Appius Claudius Crassus maintains that the demands of the Tribunes are unreasonable and tyrannical. Ch. 40.

Adversus tam obstinatam orationem tribunorum quum 1
prae indignitate rerum stupor silentiumque inde ceteros patrum defixisset, App. Claudius Crassus, nepos decem- 2

B.C. 368. viri, dicitur odio magis iraque quam spe ad dissuadendum processisse et locutus in hanc fere sententiam esse.
3 'Neque novum neque inopinatum mihi sit, Quirites, si, quod unum familiae nostrae semper obiectum est ab seditiosis tribunis, id nunc ego quoque audiam, Claudiae genti iam inde ab initio nihil antiquius in re publica patrum maiestate fuisse, semper plebis commodis adver-
4 satos esse. Quorum alterum neque nego neque infitias eo, nos, ex quo adsciti sumus simul in civitatem et patres, enixe operam dedisse, ut per nos aucta potius quam imminuta maiestas earum gentium, inter quas nos esse
5 voluistis, dici vere posset; illud alterum pro me maioribusque meis contendere ausim, Quirites, nisi, quae pro universa re publica fiant, ea plebi tanquam aliam incolenti urbem adversa quis putet, nihil nos neque privatos neque in magistratibus, quod incommodum plebi esset, scientes fecisse, nec ullum factum dictumve nostrum contra utilitatem vestram, etsi quaedam contra voluntatem fuerint,
6 vere referri posse. An hoc, si Claudiae familiae non sim nec ex patricio sanguine ortus, sed unus Quiritium quilibet, qui modo me duobus ingenuis ortum et vivere in
7 libera civitate sciam, reticere possim, L. illum Sextium et C. Licinium, perpetuos, si dis placet, tribunos, tantum licentiae novem annis, quibus regnant, sumpsisse, ut vobis negent potestatem liberam suffragii, non in comitiis, non
8 in legibus iubendis, se permissuros esse? "Sub condicione" inquit, "nos reficietis decimum tribunos." Quid est aliud dicere: "Quod petunt alii, nos adeo fastidimus,
9 ut sine mercede magna non accipiamus?" Sed quae tandem ista merces est, qua vos semper tribunos plebis habeamus? "Ut rogationes" inquit "nostras, seu placent seu displicent, seu utiles seu inutiles sunt, omnes con-

iunctim accipiatis." Obsecro vos, Tarquinii tribuni plebis, B.C. 368.
putate me ex media contione unum civem succlamare: 10
"Bona venia vestra liceat ex his rogationibus legere, quas
salubres nobis censemus esse, antiquare alias." "Non" 11
inquit, "licebit, ut de fenore atque agris, quod ad vos
omnes pertinet, iubeas, et hoc portenti non fiat in urbe
Romana, uti L. Sextium atque hunc C. Licinium consules,
quod indignaris, quod abominaris, videas; aut omnia
accipe, aut nihil fero." Ut si quis ei, quem urgeat fames, 12
venenum ponat cum cibo et aut abstinere eo, quod vitale
sit, iubeat aut mortiferum vitali admisceat. Ergo si esset
libera haec civitas, non tibi frequentes succlamassent:
"Abi hinc cum tribunatibus ac rogationibus tuis?" Quid?
si tu non tuleris, quod commodum est populo accipere,
nemo erit, qui ferat? Illud si quis patricius, si quis, quod 13
illi volunt invidiosius esse, Claudius diceret: "Aut omnia
accipite, aut nihil fero," quis vestrum, Quirites, ferret?
Nunquamne vos res potius quam auctores spectabitis, sed 14
omnia semper, quae magistratus ille dicet, secundis auribus,
quae ab nostrum quo dicentur, adversis accipietis? At 15
hercule sermo est minime civilis; quid? rogatio qualis est,
quam a vobis antiquatam indignantur? Sermoni, quirites,
simillima. "Consules" inquit, "rogo, ne vobis, quos velitis,
facere liceat." An aliter rogat, qui utique alterum ex 16
plebe fieri consulem iubet nec duos patricios creandi
potestatem vobis permittit? Si hodie bella sint, quale 17
Etruscum fuit, quum Porsinna Ianiculum insedit, quale
Gallicum modo, quum praeter Capitolium atque arcem
omnia haec hostium erant, et consulatum cum hoc M.
Furio et quolibet alio ex patribus L. ille Sextius peteret,
possetisne ferre, Sextium haud pro dubio consule esse,
Camillum de repulsa dimicare? Hocine est in commune 18

B.C. 363. honores vocare, ut duos plebeios fieri consules liceat, duos patricios non liceat? et alterum ex plebe creari necesse sit, utrumque ex patribus praeterire liceat? Quaenam ista societas, quaenam consortio est? Parum est, si, cuius pars tua nulla adhuc fuit, in partem eius venis, nisi partem petendo totum traxeris? "Timeo" inquit, "ne, si duos licebit creari patricios, neminem creetis plebeium." Quid est dicere aliud: "Quia indignos vestra voluntate creaturi non estis, necessitatem vobis creandi, quos non vultis, imponam?" Quid sequitur, nisi ut ne beneficium quidem debeat populo, si cum duobus patriciis unus petierit plebeius, et lege se, non suffragio creatum dicat?

Ch. 41. '*They would limit the power of the people, and the rights of the patricians, and break with the religious traditions of the city.*'

1 'Quomodo extorqueant, non quomodo petant honores, quaerunt; et ita maxima sunt adepturi, ut nihil ne pro minimis quidem debeant; et occasionibus potius quam
2 virtute petere honores malunt. Est aliquis, qui se inspici, aestimari fastidiat, qui certos sibi uni honores inter dimicantes competitores aequum censeat esse, qui se arbitrio vestro eximat, qui vestra necessaria suffragia pro volun-
3 tariis et serva pro liberis faciat. Omitto Licinium Sextiumque, quorum annos in perpetua potestate tanquam regum in Capitolio numeratis; quis est hodie in civitate tam humilis, cui non via ad consulatum facilior per istius legis occasionem quam nobis ac liberis nostris fiat? si quidem nos ne quum volueritis quidem creare interdum poteritis, istos, etiamsi nolueritis, necesse sit. De indigni-
4 tate satis dictum est. At enim dignitas ad homines pertinet; quid de religionibus atque auspiciis, quae propria deorum immortalium contemptio atque iniuria est, loquar?

Auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse, auspiciis bello ac **B.C. 363.**
pace, domi militiaeque omnia geri, quis est, qui ignoret?
Penes quos igitur sunt auspicia more maiorum? Nempe 5
penes patres; nam plebeius quidem magistratus nullus
auspicato creatur; nobis adeo propria sunt auspicia, ut 6
non solum, quos populus creat patricios magistratus, non
aliter quam auspicato creet, sed nos quoque ipsi sine
suffragio populi auspicato interregem prodamus, et privati
auspicia habeamus, quae isti ne in magistratibus quidem
habent. Quid igitur aliud quam tollit ex civitate auspicia, 7
qui plebeios consules creando a patribus, qui soli ea habere
possunt, aufert? Eludant nunc licet religiones: quid 8
enim esse, si pulli non pascantur, si ex cavea tardius
exierint, si occecinerit avis? Parva sunt haec; sed parva
ista non contemnendo maiores nostri maximam hanc rem
fecerunt; nunc nos, tanquam iam nihil pace deorum opus 9
sit, omnes caerimonias polluimus. Vulgo ergo pontifices,
augures, sacrificuli reges creentur; cuilibet apicem Dialem,
dummodo homo sit, imponamus; tradamus ancilia, pene-
tralia, deos deorumque curam, quibus nefas est; non 10
leges auspicato ferantur, non magistratus creentur; nec
centuriatis nec curiatis comitiis patres auctores fiant;
Sextius et Licinius tanquam Romulus ac Tatius in urbe
Romana regnent, quia pecunias alienas, quia agros dona
dant. Tanta dulcedo est ex alienis fortunis praedandi, 11
nec in mentem venit, altera lege solitudines vastas in agris
fieri pellendo finibus dominos, altera fidem abrogari, cum
qua omnis humana societas tollitur? Omnium rerum 12
causa vobis antiquandas censeo istas rogationes. Quod
faxitis, deos velim fortunare.'

B.C. 363. § 1. *Sextius and Licinius carry their law about the Decemviri sacris faciundis.* § 3. *Military Tribunes are elected, but on news of a Gallic war, Camillus is named Dictator. After the defeat of the Gauls, a sharp struggle in Rome ends in the Licinian proposals becoming law.* § 9. *L. Sextius is elected first plebeian Consul. The patricians are reconciled by the institution of the Praetorship for city jurisdiction, confined to the patricians.*

Ch. 42. 1 Oratio Appii ad id modo valuit, ut tempus rogationum
2 iubendarum proferretur. Refecti decimum iidem tribuni,
Sextius et Licinius, de decemviris sacrorum ex parte de
plebe creandis legem pertulere. Creati quinque patrum,
quinque plebis, graduque eo iam via facta ad consulatum
3 videbatur. Hac victoria contenta plebes cessit patribus,
ut in praesentia consulum mentione omissa tribuni militum
B.C. 367. crearentur. Creati A. et M. Cornelii iterum, M. Geganius,
4 P. Manlius, L. Veturius, P. Valerius sextum. Quum
praeter Velitrarum obsidionem, tardi magis rem exitus
quam dubii, quietae externae res Romanis essent, fama
repens belli Gallici allata perpulit civitatem, ut M. Furius
dictator quintum diceretur. Is T. Quinctium Pennum
5 magistrum equitum dixit. Bellatum cum Gallis eo anno
circa Anienem flumen, auctor est Claudius, inclitamque in
ponte pugnam, qua T. Manlius Gallum, cum quo provo-
catus manus conseruit, in conspectu duorum exercituum
6 caesum torque spoliavit, tum pugnatam. Pluribus auc-
toribus magis adducor ut credam, decem haud minus post
annos ea acta, hoc autem anno in Albano agro cum
7 Gallis dictatore M. Furio signa collata. Nec dubia nec
difficilis Romanis, quanquam ingentem Galli terrorem
memoria pristinae cladis attulerant, victoria fuit. Multa
millia barbarorum in acie, multa captis castris caesa;

palati alii, Apuliam maxime petentes, quum fuga se B.C. 367.
longinqua, tum quod passim eos simul pavor terrorque 8
distulerant, ab hoste [sese] tutati sunt. Dictatori con-
sensu patrum plebisque triumphus decretus. Vixdum 9
perfunctum eum bello atrocior domi seditio excepit, et
per ingentia certamina dictator senatusque victus, ut
rogationes tribuniciae acciperentur; et comitia consulum
adversa nobilitate habita, quibus L. Sextius de plebe
primus consul factus. Et ne is quidem finis certaminum
fuit. Quia patricii se auctores futuros negabant, prope 10
secessionem plebis res terribilesque alias minas civilium
certaminum venit, quum tandem per dictatorem condi- 11
cionibus sedatae discordiae sunt, concessumque ab nobili-
tate plebi de consule plebeio, a plebe nobilitati de praetore
uno, qui ius in urbe diceret, ex patribus creando. Ita ab 12
diutina ira tandem in concordiam redactis ordinibus,
quum dignam eam rem senatus censeret esse, meritoque
id, si quando unquam alias, deum immortalium fore, ut
ludi maximi fierent et dies unus ad triduum adiiceretur,
recusantibus id munus aedilibus plebis, conclamatum a 13
patriciis est iuvenibus, se id honoris deum immortalium
causa libenter facturos, ut aediles fierent. Quibus quum 14
ab universis gratiae actae essent, factum senatus con-
sultum, ut duo viros aediles ex patribus dictator populum
rogaret, patres auctores omnibus eius anni comitiis fierent.

BOOK VII.

The Struggle for the Consulship.—The Beginning of the Samnite War.

B.C. 366. *For the first time a plebeian is Consul; the patricians being compensated by the possession of two new offices, Praetorship and Curule Aedileship,* § 6. *but the latter is afterwards thrown open.* § 7. *A terrible plague follows; amongst its victims is M. Furius Camillus, the second founder of Rome.*

Ch. 1. 1 Annus hic erit insignis novi hominis consulatu, insignis
novis duobus magistratibus, praetura et curuli aedilitate;
hos sibi patricii quaesivere honores pro concesso plebi
2 altero consulatu. Plebes consulatum L. Sextio, cuius lege
partus erat, dedit; patres praeturam Sp. Furio M. filio
Camillo, aedilitatem Cn. Quinctio Capitolino et P. Cornelio
Scipioni, suarum gentium viris, gratia campestri ceperunt.
L. Sextio collega ex patribus datus L. Aemilius Mamer-
3 cinus. Principio anni et de Gallis, quos primo palatos
per Apuliam congregari iam fama erat, et de Hernicorum
4 defectione agitata mentio. Quum de industria omnia, ne
quid per plebeium consulem ageretur, proferrentur, silen-
5 tium omnium rerum ac iustitio simile otium fuit, nisi quod,
non patientibus tacitum tribunis, quod pro consule uno
plebeio tres patricios magistratus curulibus sellis praetex-
tatos tanquam consules sedentes nobilitas sibi sumpsisset,
6 praetorem quidem etiam iura reddentem et collegam con-
sulibus atque iisdem auspiciis creatum, verecundia inde
imposita est senatui ex patribus iubendi aediles curules
creari. Primo, ut alternis annis ex plebe fierent, con-
7 venerat; postea promiscuum fuit. Inde L. Genucio et

Q. Servilio consulibus, et ab seditione et a bello quietis **B.C. 365.**
rebus, ne quando a metu ac periculis vacarent, pestilentia
ingens orta. Censorem, aedilem curulem, tres tribunos 8
plebis mortuos ferunt, pro portione et ex multitudine alia
multa funera fuisse; maximeque eam pestilentiam in-
signem mors quamvis matura, tamen acerba M. Furii fecit.
Fuit enim vere vir unicus in omni fortuna, princeps pace 9
belloque, priusquam exsulatum iret, clarior in exsilio vel
desiderio civitatis, quae capta absentis imploravit opem,
vel felicitate, qua restitutus in patriam secum patriam
ipsam restituit; par deinde per quinque et viginti annos 10
(tot enim postea vixit) titulo tantae gloriae fuit, dignusque
habitus, quem secundum a Romulo conditorem urbis
Romanae ferrent.

§ 1. *A lectisternium is celebrated to appease the gods, and stage-plays are introduced from Etruria.* § 6. *Once introduced they had a great vogue; Livius introduced plot, and separated the singing from the acting.* § 11. *Besides the more artistic plays, farces* (exodia) *grew up out of the unconventional railleries of young Romans, and were associated with the Atellan plays, which always retained an amateur character.* **B.C. 364.**

Et hoc et insequenti anno, C. Sulpicio Petico, C. Licinio 1 **Ch. 2.**
Stolone consulibus, pestilentia fuit. Eo nihil dignum 2
memoria actum, nisi quod pacis deum exposcendae causa
tertio tum post conditam urbem lectisternium fuit; et 3
quum vis morbi nec humanis consiliis nec ope divina
levaretur, victis superstitione animis ludi quoque scenici,
nova res bellicoso populo (nam circi modo spectaculum
fuerat), inter alia caelestis irae placamina instituti dicuntur.
Ceterum parva quoque, ut ferme principia omnia, et ea 4
ipsa peregrina res fuit. Sine carmine ullo, sine imitan-
dorum carminum actu ludiones ex Etruria acciti, ad

B.C. 364. tibicinis modos saltantes, haud indecoros motus more
5 Tusco dabant. Imitari deinde eos iuventus, simul incon-
ditis inter se iocularia fundentes versibus, coepere, nec
6 absoni a voce motus erant. Accepta itaque res saepiusque
usurpando excitata. Vernaculis artificibus, quia ister
Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum;
7 qui non, sicut ante, Fescennino versu similem incom-
positum temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant, sed impletas
modis saturas descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu motuque
8 congruenti peragebant. Livius post aliquot annos, qui ab
9 saturis ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere, idem
scilicet, id quod omnes tum erant, suorum carminum
actor, dicitur, quum saepius revocatus vocem obtudisset,
venia petita puerum ad canendum ante tibicinem quum
statuisset, canticum egisse aliquanto magis vigente motu,
10 quia nihil vocis usus impediebat. Inde ad manum cantari
histrionibus coeptum diverbiaque tantum ipsorum voci
11 relicta. Postquam lege hac fabularum ab risu ac soluto
ioco res avocabatur et ludus in artem paulatim verterat,
iuventus, histrionibus fabellarum actu relicto, ipsa inter se
more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus iactitare coepit:
quae exodia postea appellata consertaque fabellis potis-
12 simum Atellanis sunt, quod genus ludorum ab Oscis
acceptum tenuit iuventus, nec ab histrionibus pollui passa
est; eo institutum manet, ut actores Atellanarum nec tribu
moveantur et stipendia, tanquam expertes artis ludicrae,
13 faciant. Inter aliarum parva principia rerum ludorum
quoque prima origo ponenda visa est, ut appareret, quam
ab sano initio res in hanc vix opulentis regnis tolerabilem
insaniam venerit.

§ 1. *As the plays work no cure, a Dictator is appointed* clavi figendi causa, *a mode of recording the year instituted by ancient law, and practised in Etruria.* § 9. *The Dictator, L. Manlius Imperiosus, rouses indignation by his severe levy for a Hernican war, and resigns.* **B.C. 364.**

Nec tamen ludorum primum initium procurandis reli- 1 **Ch. 3.**
gionibus datum aut religione animos aut corpora morbis
levavit; quin etiam, quum medios forte ludos circus Tiberi 2
superfuso irrigatus impedisset, id vero, velut aversis iam
dis aspernantibusque placamina irae, terrorem ingentem
fecit. Itaque Cn. Genucio, L. Aemilio Mamercino iterum **B.C. 363.**
consulibus, quum piaculorum magis conquisitio animos 3
quam corpora morbi afficerent, repetitum ex seniorum
memoria dicitur, pestilentiam quondam clavo ab dictatore
fixo sedatam. Ea religione adductus senatus dictatorem 4
clavi figendi causa dici iussit; dictus L. Manlius Im-
periosus L. Pinarium magistrum equitum dixit. Lex 5
vetusta est, priscis litteris verbisque scripta, ut, qui praetor
maximus sit, idibus Septembribus clavum pangat; fixa
fuit dextro lateri aedis Iovis optimi maximi, ex qua parte
Minervae templum est. Eum clavum, quia rarae per ea 6
tempora litterae erant, notam numeri annorum fuisse
ferunt, eoque Minervae templo dicatam legem, quia
numerus Minervae inventum sit. Vulsiniis quoque clavos 7
indices numeri annorum fixos in templo Nortiae, Etruscae
deae, comparere, diligens talium monumentorum auctor
Cincius affirmat. Horatius consul et legem et templum 8
Iovis optimi maximi dedicavit anno post reges exactos;
a consulibus postea ad dictatores, quia maius imperium
erat, sollemne clavi figendi translatum est. Intermisso
deinde more, digna etiam per se visa res, propter quam
dictator crearetur. Qua de causa creatus L. Manlius, 9

B.C. 363. perinde ac rei gerendae ac non solvendae religionis gratia creatus esset, bellum Hernicum affectans dilectu acerbo iuventutem agitavit; tandemque omnibus in eum tribunis plebis coortis, seu vi seu verecundia victus, dictatura abiit.

B.C. 362. *Manlius is brought to trial by M. Pomponius, Tribune of the plebs, for his severity in the levy and cruelty to his own son.*

Ch. 4. 1 Neque eo minus principio insequentis anni, Q. Servilio
Ahala, L. Genucio consulibus, dies Manlio dicitur a M.
2 Pomponio tribuno plebis. Acerbitas in dilectu, non
damno modo civium, sed etiam laceratione corporum lata,
partim virgis caesis, qui ad nomina non respondissent,
3 partim in vincla ductis, invisa erat, et ante omnia invisum
ipsum ingenium atrox cognomenque Imperiosi, grave
liberae civitati, ab ostentatione saevitiae adscitum, quam
non magis in alienis quam in proximis ac sanguine ipse
4 suo exerceret. Criminique ei tribunus inter cetera dabat,
quod filium iuvenem, nullius probri compertum, extorrem
urbe, domo, penatibus, foro, luce, congressu aequalium
prohibitum, in opus servile, prope in carcerem atque in
5 ergastulum dederit, ubi summo loco natus dictatorius
iuvenis quotidiana miseria disceret, vere imperioso patre
6 se natum esse. At quam ob noxam? Quia infacundior
sit et lingua impromptus: quod naturae damnum utrum
nutriendum patri, si quicquam in eo humani esset, an
castigandum ac vexatione insigne faciendum fuisse? Ne
mutas quidem bestias minus alere ac fovere, si quid ex
7 progenie sua parum prosperum sit; at hercule L. Man-
lium malum malo augere filii et tarditatem ingenii insuper
premere et, si quid in eo exiguum naturalis vigoris sit,
id exstinguere vita agresti et rustico cultu inter pecudes
habendo.

§ 1. *The young Manlius takes his father's part, and frightens the Tribune into abandoning his accusation.* § 9. *When some of the Tribunes in the army are, now for the first time, elected by the people, he is second on the list.* **B.C. 362.**

Omnium potius his criminationibus quam ipsius iuvenis 1 Ch. 5.
irritatus est animus; quin contra, se quoque parenti
causam invidiae atque criminum esse, aegre passus, ut 2
omnes di homines que scirent, se parenti opem latam
quam inimicis eius malle, capit consilium rudis quidem
atque agrestis animi, sed, quanquam non civilis exempli,
tamen pietate laudabile. Inscientibus cunctis, cultro 3
succinctus mane in urbem atque a porta domum confestim ad M. Pomponium tribunum pergit; ianitori, opus
esse sibi domino eius convento extemplo, ait; nuntiaret,
T. Manlium L. filium esse. Mox introductus (etenim 4
percitum ira in patrem spes erat aut criminis aliquid novi
aut consilii ad rem agendam deferre), salute accepta redditaque, esse ait, quae cum eo agere arbitris remotis velit.
Procul inde omnibus abire iussis, cultrum stringit et super 5
lectum stans ferro intento, nisi in quae ipse concepisset
verba iuraret, se patris eius accusandi causa concilium
plebis nunquam habiturum, se eum extemplo transfixurum
minatur. Pavidus tribunus, quippe qui ferrum ante 6
oculos micare, se solum, inermem, illum praevalidum
iuvenem et, quod haud minus timendum erat, stolide
ferocem viribus suis cerneret, adiurat in quae adactus est
verba, et prae se deinde tulit, ea vi subactum se incepto
destitisse. Nec, perinde ut maluisset plebes, sibi suffragii 7
ferendi de tam crudeli et superbo reo potestatem fieri, ita
aegre habuit, filium id pro parente ausum; eoque id
laudabilius erat, quod animum eius tanta acerbitas patria
nihil a pietate avertisset. Itaque non patri modo remissa 8

B.C. 362. causae dictio est, sed ipsi etiam adolescenti ea res honori
9 fuit. et quum eo anno primum placuisset, tribunos militum
ad legiones suffragio fieri (nam [et] antea, sicut nunc,
quos Rufulos vocant, imperatores ipsi faciebant), secundum
in sex locis tenuit, nullis domi militiaeque ad conciliandam
gratiam meritis, ut qui rure et procul coetu hominum
iuventam egisset.

Ch. 6. § 1. *A vast fissure appears in the Forum, and the prophets demand a sacrifice: M. Curtius devotes himself: hence the name of the Curtian lake (unless that be derived from Curtius Mettius).* § 7. *On the Hernicans refusing satisfaction, war is declared against them. Genucius, the plebeian Consul, is entrapped and killed. The patricians cry out against plebeian auspices, and Appius Claudius is named Dictator, and holds a levy.*

1 Eodem anno, seu motu terrae seu qua vi alia, forum
medium ferme specu vasto collapsum in immensam alti-
2 tudinem dicitur; neque eam voraginem coniectu terrae,
quum pro se quisque gereret, expleri potuisse, priusquam
deum monitu quaeri coeptum, quo plurimum populus
3 Romanus posset; id enim illi loco dicandum vates
canebant, si rem publicam Romanam perpetuam esse
vellent. Tum M. Curtium, iuvenem bello egregium,
castigasse ferunt dubitantes, an ullum magis Romanum
4 bonum quam arma virtusque esset, *et* silentio facto, templa
deorum immortalium, quae foro imminent, Capitoliumque
intuentem et manus nunc in caelum, nunc in patentes
terrae hiatus ad deos manes porrigentem, se devovisse;
5 equoque deinde quam poterat maxime exornato insidentem,
armatum se in specum immisisse, donaque ac fruges
super eum a multitudine virorum ac mulierum congestas,
lacumque Curtium non ab antiquo illo T. Tatii milite
6 Curtio Mettio, sed ab hoc appellatum. Cura non deesset,

si qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret; nunc fama rerum B.C. 362.
standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem; et lacus
nomen ab hac recentiore insignitius fabula est. Post tanti 7
prodigii procurationem, eodem anno de Hernicis con-
sultus senatus, quum fetiales ad res repetendas nequicquam
misisset, primo quoque die ferendum ad populum de bello
indicendo Hernicis censuit, populusque id bellum frequens
iussit. L. Genucio consuli ea provincia sorte evenit. In 8
exspectatione civitas erat, quod primus ille de plebe
consul bellum suis auspiciis gesturus esset, perinde ut
evenisset res, ita communicatos honores pro bene aut
secus consulto habitura. Forte ita tulit casus, ut Genucius 9
ad hostes magno conatu profectus in insidias praecipitaret,
et, legionibus necopinato pavore fusis, consul circumventus
ab insciis, quem intercepissent, occideretur. Quod ubi 10
est Romam nuntiatum, nequaquam tantum publica calami-
tate maesti patres, quantum feroces infelici consulis plebeii
ductu, fremunt omnibus locis: irent, crearent consules ex
plebe, transferrent auspicia, quo nefas esset; potuisse 11
patres plebiscito pelli honoribus suis; num etiam in deos
immortales inauspicatam legem valuisse? vindicasse ipsos
suum numen, sua auspicia, quae ut primum contacta sint
ab eo, a quo nec ius nec fas fuerit, deletum cum duce
exercitum documento fuisse, ne deinde turbato gentium
iure comitia haberentur. His vocibus curia et forum 12
personat. App. Claudium, quia dissuaserat legem, maiore
nunc auctoritate eventum reprehensi ab se consilii incu-
santem, dictatorem consensu patriciorum Servilius consul
dicit, dilectusque et iustitium indictum.

B.C. 362. § 1. *Meanwhile a lieutenant, C. Sulpicius, wins a victory.* § 3. *On the Dictator's arrival a battle is fought against the united strength of the Hernicans. The Roman cavalry at first fight without effect; but dismounting, they advance successfully, only to be checked by the enemy's reserves.*

Ch. 7. 1 Priusquam dictator legionesque novae in Hernicos
venirent, ductu C. Sulpicii legati res per occasionem gesta
2 egregie est. In Hernicos morte consulis contemptim ad
castra Romana cum haud dubia expugnandi spe succe-
dentes, hortante legato et plenis irae atque indignitatis
militum animis, eruptio est facta. Multum ab spe adeundi
valli res Hernicis afuit; adeo turbatis inde ordinibus
3 abscessere. Dictatoris deinde adventu novus veteri exer-
citus iungitur et copiae duplicantur; et pro contione
dictator laudibus legati militumque, quorum virtute castra
defensa erant, simul audientibus laudes meritas tollit
animos, simul ceteros ad aemulandas virtutes acuit.
4 Neque segnius ad hostes bellum apparatur, qui et parti
ante decoris memores neque ignari auctarum virium hostis
suas quoque vires augent. Omne Hernicum nomen,
omnis militaris aetas excitur; quadringenariae octo co-
5 hortes, lecta robora virorum, scribuntur. Hunc eximium
florem iuventutis eo etiam, quod, ut duplex acciperent
stipendium, decreverant, spei animorumque implevere;
immunes quoque operum militarium erant, ut in unum
pugnae laborem reservati plus sibi quam pro virili parte
6 annitendum scirent; extra ordinem etiam in acie locati,
quo conspectior virtus esset. Duum millium planities
castra Romana ab Hernicis dirimebat; ibi pari ferme
7 utrinque spatio in medio pugnatum est. Primo stetit
ambigua spe pugna, nequicquam saepe conatis equitibus
8 Romanis impetu turbare hostium aciem. Postquam

equestris pugna effectu quam conatibus vanior erat, con- B.C. 362.
sulto prius dictatore equites, permissu deinde eius relictis
equis, clamore ingenti provolant ante signa et novam
integrant pugnam; neque sustineri poterant, ni extra- 9
ordinariae cohortes pari corporum animorumque robore
se obiecissent.

Ch. 8.

§ 1. The loss among the best troops is heavy. § 2. At last the cavalry make a supreme effort, and drive the Hernicans to their camp, which they quit the next day. The Romans lose one-fourth of their men and many knights.

Tunc inter primores duorum populorum res geritur: 1
quicquid hinc aut illinc communis Mars belli aufert, mul-
tiplex quam pro numero damnum est. Vulgus aliud
armatorum, velut delegata primoribus pugna, eventum
suum in virtute aliena ponit. Multi utrinque cadunt,
plures vulnera accipiunt; tandem equites alius alium in- 2
crepantes, quid deinde restaret, quaerendo, si neque ex
equis pepulissent hostem neque pedites quicquam momenti
facerent, quam tertiam exspectarent pugnam, quid ante
signa feroces prosiluissent et alieno pugnarent loco, his
inter se vocibus concitati, clamore renovato inferunt pedem, 3
et primum gradu moverunt hostem, deinde pepulerunt,
postremo iam haud dubie avertunt; neque, tam vires 4
pares quae superaverit res, facile dictu est, nisi quod
perpetua fortuna utriusque populi et extollere animos et
minuere potuit. Usque ad castra fugientes Hernicos 5
Romanus sequitur; castrorum oppugnatione, quia serum
erat diei, abstinuere. Diu non perlitatum tenuerat dicta-
torem, ne ante meridiem signum dare posset; eo in
noctem tractum erat certamen. Postero die deserta fuga 6
castra Hernicorum, et saucii relicti quidam inventi;
agmenque fugientium ab Signinis, quum praeter moenia

B.C. 362. eorum infrequentia conspecta signa essent, fusum ac per
7 agros trepida fuga palatum est. Nec Romanis incruenta
victoria fuit; quarta pars militum amissa, et, ubi haud
minus iacturae fuit, aliquot equites Romani cecidere.

B.C. 361. § 1. *The consuls after a campaign against the Hernicans are refused entrance into Tibur, and war is declared against it.* § 3. *T. Quinctius Pennus is Dictator, probably for war against the Gauls, who this year come as far as the Anio. After skirmishes at the bridge, a giant Gaul challenges the Roman army.*

Ch. 9. 1 Insequenti anno quum C. Sulpicius et C. Licinius
Calvus consules in Hernicos exercitum duxissent, neque
inventis in agro hostibus, Ferentinum urbem eorum vi
cepissent, revertentibus inde eis Tiburtes portas clausere.
2 Ea ultima fuit causa, quum multae ante querimoniae ultro
citroque iactatae essent, cur per fetiales rebus repetitis
3 bellum Tiburti populo indiceretur. Dictatorem T. Quinc-
tium Pennum eo anno fuisse, satis constat, et magistrum
4 equitum Ser. Cornelium Maluginensem. Macer Licinius
comitiorum habendorum causa et ab Licinio consule
dictum scribit, quia, collega comitia bello praeferre festi-
nante, ut continuaret consulatum, obviam eundum pravae
5 cupiditati fuerit. Quaesita ea propriae familiae laus
leviorem auctorem Licinium facit; quum mentionem eius
rei in vetustioribus annalibus nullam inveniam, magis, ut
belli Gallici causa dictatorem creatum arbitrer, inclinat
6 animus. Eo certe anno Galli ad tertium lapidem Salaria
via trans pontem Anienis castra habuere. Dictator quum
tumultus Gallici causa iustitium edixisset, omnes iuniores
sacramento adegit, ingentique exercitu ab urbe profectus
7 in citeriore ripa Anienis castra posuit. Pons in medio erat,
neutris eum rumpentibus, ne timoris indicium esset. Proelia
de occupando ponte crebra erant, nec, qui poterentur,

incertis viribus satis discerni poterat. Tum eximia corporis B.C. 361.
magnitudine in vacuum pontem Gallus processit et, quan- 8
tum maxima voce potuit, 'Quem nunc' inquit, 'Roma virum fortissimum habet, procedat, age dum, ad pugnam, ut noster duorum eventus ostendat, utra gens bello sit melior.'

The young T. Manlius accepts the challenge, slays the Gaul, and takes from him a gold necklace; and therefore receives the title Torquatus. Ch. 10.

Diu inter primores iuvenum Romanorum silentium 1
fuit, quum et abnuere certamen vererentur et praecipuam sortem periculi petere nollent; tum T. Manlius L. filius, 2
qui patrem a vexatione tribunicia vindicaverat, ex statione ad dictatorem pergit. 'Iniussu tuo' inquit, 'imperator, extra ordinem nunquam pugnaverim, non si certam victoriam videam; si tu permittis, volo ego illi beluae osten- 3
dere, quando adeo ferox praesultat hostium signis, me ex ea familia ortum, quae Gallorum agmen ex rupe Tarpeia deiecit.' Tum dictator 'Macte virtute' inquit, 'ac pietate 4
in patrem patriamque, T. Manli, esto. Perge et nomen Romanum invictum iuvantibus dis praesta.' Armant inde 5
iuvenem aequales; pedestre scutum capit, Hispano cingitur gladio, ad propiorem habili pugnam. Armatum adornatumque adversus Gallum stolide laetum et (quoniam id quoque memoria dignum antiquis visum est) linguam etiam ab irrisu exserentem producunt. Recipiunt inde se 6
ad stationem, et duo in medio armati, spectaculi magis more quam lege belli, destituuntur, nequaquam visu ac specie aestimantibus pares. Corpus alteri magnitudine 7
eximium, versicolori veste pictisque et auro caelatis refulgens armis; media in altero militaris statura, modicaque in armis habilibus magis quam decoris species; non 8
cantus, non exsultatio armorumque agitatio vana, sed

B.C. 361. pectus animorum iraeque tacitae plenum; omnem fero-
9 ciam in discrimen ipsum certaminis distulerat. Ubi con-
stitere inter duas acies, tot circa mortalium animis spe
metuque pendentibus, Gallus velut moles superne immi-
nens, proiecto laeva scuto, in advenientis arma hostis
10 vanum caesim cum ingenti sonitu ensem deiecit; Romanus
mucrone subrecto, quum scuto scutum imum perculisset,
totoque corpore interior periculo vulneris factus insinu-
asset se inter corpus armaque, uno alteroque subinde ictu
ventrem atque inguina hausit et in spatium ingens ruentem
11 porrexit hostem. Iacentis inde corpus ab omni alia
vexatione intactum uno torque spoliavit, quem respersum
12 cruore collo circumdedit suo. Defixerat pavor cum
admiratione Gallos; Romani alacres ab statione obviam
militi suo progressi, gratulantes laudantesque ad dicta-
13 torem perducunt. Inter carminum prope *in* modum
incondita quaedam militariter ioculantes Torquati cogno-
men auditum; celebratum deinde posteris etiam familiae-
14 que honori fuit. Dictator coronam auream addidit donum,
mirisque pro contione eam pugnam laudibus tulit.

Ch. 11. § 1. *The Gauls retire towards Campania, winning on their march the alliance of Tibur.* § 2. *An army is led against Tibur, and the Gauls coming to their aid, a Dictator is appointed, Q. Servilius Ahala.* § 5. *The Gauls are defeated in a great battle near the Colline Gate, and fly to Tibur, attacked by C. Poetelius Balbus on the way.* § 8. *Meanwhile M. Fabius Ambustus conquers the Hernicans.* § 10. *The Tiburtines scoff at Poetelius' triumph.*

1 Et hercule tanti ea ad universi belli eventum momenti
dimicatio fuit, ut Gallorum exercitus proxima nocte,
relictis trepide castris, in Tiburtem agrum atque inde,
societate belli facta commeatuque benigne ab Tiburtibus
2 adiutus, mox in Campaniam transierit. Ea fuit causa,

cur proximo anno C. Poetelius Balbus consul, quum **B.C. 360.**
collegae eius M. Fabio Ambusto Hernici provincia evenisset, adversus Tiburtes iussu populi exercitum duceret.
Ad quorum auxilium quum Galli ex Campania redissent, 3
foedae populationes in Lavicano Tusculanoque et Albano
agro haud dubie Tiburtibus ducibus sunt factae, et, quum 4
adversus Tiburtem hostem duce consule contenta res publica esset, Gallicus tumultus dictatorem creari coegit. Creatus Q. Servilius Ahala T. Quinctium magistrum equitum dixit, et ex auctoritate patrum, si prospere id bellum evenisset, ludos magnos vovit. Dictator, ad con- 5
tinendos proprio bello Tiburtes consulari exercitu iusso manere, omnes iuniores, nullo detrectante militiam, sacramento adegit. Pugnatum haud procul porta Collina est 6
totius viribus urbis, in conspectu parentum coniugumque ac liberorum; quae magna etiam absentibus hortamenta animi tum subiecta oculis simul verecundia misericordiaque militem accendebant. Magna utrinque edita caede aver- 7
titur tandem acies Gallorum. Fuga Tibur sicut arcem belli Gallici petunt; palati a consule Poetelio haud procul Tibure excepti, egressis ad opem ferendam Tiburtibus, simul cum iis intra portas compelluntur. Egregie quum 8
ab dictatore, tum ab consule res gesta est. Et consul alter Fabius proeliis primum parvis, postremo una insigni pugna, quum hostes totis adorti copiis essent, Hernicos devincit. Dictator, consulibus in senatu et apud populum 9
magnifice collaudatis et suarum quoque rerum illis remisso honore, dictatura se abdicavit. Poetelius de Gallis Tiburtibusque geminum triumphum egit; Fabio satis visum, ut ovans urbem iniret. Irridere Poetelii triumphum Tiburtes: 10
ubi enim eum secum acie conflixisse? Spectatores paucos fugae trepidationisque Gallorum extra portas egressos,

B.C. 360. postquam in se quoque fieri impetum viderint et sine
11 discrimine obvios caedi, recepisse se intra urbem; eam
rem triumpho dignam visam Romanis. Ne nimis mirum
magnumque censerent tumultum excīēre in hostium
portis, maiorem ipsos trepidationem ante moenia sua
visuros.

B.C. 359. § 1. *Next year the Tiburtines march against Rome, but are easily repulsed. Their attack unites the people.* § 6. *The people of Tarquinii ravage the Roman territory.* § 6. *The prospect of war with Tarquinii and the Hernicans, as well as with the Gauls, is relieved by the renewal of peace with the Latins, who supply troops as of old.* § 9. *The Gauls advance to Praeneste and Pedum. C. Sulpicius is named Dictator, and adopts a waiting policy, which is unpopular with the army.*

Ch. 12. 1 Itaque insequenti anno, M. Popillio Laenate, Cn. Manlio
consulibus, primo silentio noctis ab Tibure agmine infesto
2 profecti ad urbem Romam venerunt. Terrorem repente
ex somno excitatis subita res et nocturnus pavor praebuit,
ad hoc multorum inscitia, qui aut unde hostes advenissent;
3 conclamatum tamen celeriter ad arma est et portae station-
ibus murique praesidiis firmati. Et ubi prima lux medio-
crem multitudinem ante moenia neque alium quam
Tiburtem hostem ostendit, duabus portis egressi consules
4 utrinque aciem subeuntium iam muros aggrediuntur, ap-
paruitque, occasione magis quam virtute fretos venisse;
adeo vix primum impetum Romanorum sustinuere. Quin
etiam bono fuisse Romanis adventum eorum constabat,
orientemque iam seditionem inter patres et plebem metu
5 tam propinqui belli compressam. Alius adventus hostium
6 fuit †proximo bello agris quam terribilior urbi. Popula-
bundi Tarquinienses fines Romanos, maxime qua ex parte
Etruriam adiacent, peragravere, rebusque nequicquam
B.C. 358. repetitis, novi consules iis C. Fabius et C. Plautus iussu

populi bellum indixere; Fabioque ea provincia, Plautio B.C. 358.
Hernici evenere. Gallici quoque belli fama increbrescebat; 7
sed inter multos terrores solatio fuit pax Latinis petentibus
data et magna vis militum ab iis ex foedere vetusto, quod
multis intermiserant annis, accepta. Quo praesidio quum 8
fulta res Romana esset, levius fuit, quod Gallos mox
Praeneste venisse atque inde circa Pedum consedisse
auditum est. Dictatorem dici C. Sulpicium placuit; 9
consul ad id accitus C. Plautius dixit; magister equitum
dictatori additus M. Valerius. Hi robora militum ex
duobus consularibus exercitibus electa adversus Gallos
duxerunt. Lentius id aliquanto bellum, quam parti 10
utrique placebat, fuit. Quum primo Galli tantum avidi
certaminis fuissent, deinde Romanus miles ruendo in
arma ac dimicationem aliquantum Gallicam ferociam
vinceret, dictatori neutiquam placebat, quando nulla 11
cogeret res, fortunae se committere adversus hostem,
quem tempus deteriorem in dies [et] locis alienis faceret
sine praeparato commeatu, sine firmo munimento morantem, ad hoc iis corporibus animisque, quorum omnis
in impetu vis esset, parva eadem languesceret mora. His 12
consiliis dictator bellum trahebat, gravemque edixerat
poenam, si quis iniussu in hostem pugnasset. Milites
aegre id patientes primo in stationibus vigiliisque inter se
dictatorem sermonibus carpere, interdum patres communiter increpare, quod non iussissent per consules geri
bellum: electum esse eximium imperatorem, unicum 13
ducem, qui nihil agenti sibi de caelo devolaturam in
sinum victoriam censeat. Eadem deinde haec interdiu
propalam ac ferociora his iactare: se iniussu imperatoris
aut dimicaturos aut agmine Romam ituros. Immiscerique 14
militibus centuriones, nec in circulis modo fremere, sed

B.C. 358. iam in principiis ac praetorio in unum sermones confundi, atque in contionis magnitudinem crescere turba, et vociferari ex omnibus locis, ut extemplo ad dictatorem iretur; verba pro exercitu faceret Sex. Tullius, ut virtute eius dignum esset.

Ch. 13. *Their spokesman, a centurion, Sex. Tullius, complains that the Dictator despairs of his army; and beseeches him to give them a trial.*

1 Septimum primum pilum iam Tullius ducebat, neque
erat in exercitu, qui quidem pedestria stipendia fecisset,
2 vir factis nobilior. Is praecedens militum agmen ad tri-
bunal pergit, mirantique Sulpicio non turbam magis quam
turbae principem Tullium, imperiis obedientissimum mili-
3 tem, 'Si licet, dictator' inquit, 'condemnatum se universus
exercitus a te ignaviae ratus et prope ignominiae causa
destitutum sine armis, oravit me, ut suam causam apud te
4 agerem. Equidem, sicubi loco cessum, si terga data hosti,
si signa foede amissa obiici nobis possent, tamen hoc a te
impetrari aequum censerem, ut nos virtute culpam no-
stram corrigere et abolere flagitii memoriam nova gloria
5 patereris. Etiam ad Aliam fusae legiones eandem, quam
per pavorem amiserant, patriam profectae postea a Veiis
virtute recuperavere. Nobis deum benignitate, felicitate
6 tua populique Romani, et res et gloria est integra; quan-
quam de gloria vix dicere ausim, si nos et hostes haud
secus quam feminas abditos intra vallum omnibus contu-
meliis eludunt, et tu imperator noster, quod aegrius pa-
timur, exercitum tuum sine animis, sine armis, sine
manibus iudicas esse et, priusquam expertus nos esses, de
nobis ita desperasti, ut te mancorum ac debilium ducem
7 iudicares esse. Quid enim aliud esse causae credamus,
cur veteranus dux, fortissimus bello, compressis, quod

aiunt, manibus sedeas? Utcunque enim se habet res, te **B.C. 358.**
de nostra virtute dubitasse videri quam nos de tua verius
est. Sin autem non tuum istuc, sed publicum est con- 8
silium, et consensus aliqui patrum, non Gallicum bellum
nos ab urbe, a penatibus nostris ablegatos tenet, quaeso, ut
ea, quae dicam, non a militibus imperatori dicta censeas,
sed a plebe patribus (quae si, ut vos vestra habeatis con-
silia, sic se sua habituram dicat, quis tandem succenseat?)
milites nos esse, non servos vestros, ad bellum, non in 9
exsilium missos; si quis det signum, in aciem educat, ut
viris ac Romanis dignum sit, pugnaturos; si nihil armis
opus sit, otium Romae potius quam in castris acturos.
Haec dicta sint patribus; te, imperator, milites tui oramus, 10
ut nobis pugnandi copiam facias; quum vincere cupimus,
tum te duce vincere, tibi lauream insignem deferre, tecum
triumphantes urbem inire, tuum sequentes currum Iovis
optimi maximi templum gratantes ovantesque adire.' Ora- 11
tionem Tullii exceperunt preces multitudinis, et undique,
ut signum daret, ut capere arma iuberet, clamabant.

§ 1. *The Dictator (finding that Tullius expresses the sense of the army) consents to give battle.* § 6. *He mounts* 1000 *grooms on mules, and posts them on the hills.* **Ch. 14.**

Dictator quanquam rem bonam exemplo haud probabili 1
actam censebat, tamen facturum, quod milites vellent,
se recepit, Tulliumque secreto, quaenam haec res sit aut
quo acta more, percontatur. Tullius magno opere a dicta- 2
tore petere, ne se oblitum disciplinae militaris, ne sui neve
imperatoriae maiestatis crederet; multitudini concitatae,
quae ferme auctoribus similis esset, non subtraxisse se
ducem, ne quis alius, quales mota creare multitudo soleret,
exsisteret; nam se quidem nihil non arbitrio imperatoris
acturum. Illi quoque tamen videndum magno opere esse, 3

B.C. 358. ut exercitum in potestate haberet; differri non posse adeo concitatos animos; ipsos sibi locum ac tempus pugnandi
4 sumpturos, si ab imperatore non detur. Dum haec loquuntur, iumenta forte pascentia extra vallum Gallo abigenti duo milites Romani ademerunt. In eos saxa coniecta a Gallis; deinde ab Romana statione clamor ortus ac procur-
5 sum utrinque est. Iamque haud procul iusto proelio res erat, ni celeriter diremptum certamen per centuriones esset; affirmata certe eo casu Tullii apud dictatorem fides est; nec recipiente iam dilationem re, in posterum diem
6 edicitur acie pugnaturos. Dictator tamen, ut qui magis animis quam viribus fretus ad certamen descenderet, omnia circumspicere atque agitare coepit, ut arte aliqua terrorem hostibus incuteret. Sollerti animo rem novam excogitat, qua deinde multi nostri atque externi impera-
7 tores, nostra quoque quidam aetate, usi sunt. Mulis strata detrahi iubet, binisque tantum centunculis relictis, agasones partim captivis, partim aegrorum armis ornatos
8 imponit. His fere mille effectis centum admiscet equites, et nocte super castra in montes evadere ac silvis se occultare iubet neque inde ante moveri, quam ab se acciperent
9 signum. Ipse, ubi illuxit, in radicibus montium extendere aciem coepit sedulo, ut adversus montes consisteret hostis.
10 Instructo vani terroris apparatu, qui quidem terror plus paene veris viribus profuit, primo credere duces Gallorum, non descensuros in aequum Romanos; deinde, ubi degressos repente viderunt, et ipsi avidi certaminis in proelium ruunt, priusque pugna coepit, quam signum ab ducibus daretur.

§ 1. *The Gauls make a desperate attack on the right wing, which is only saved by the vigour of the Dictator, who then aids the left. The mounted troops now descending, the Gauls fly in confusion. C. Sulpicius thus wins a Gallic triumph only second to that of Camillus.* § 9. *The Hernicans are defeated, but the people of Tarquinii take Fabius unawares, and butcher* 307 *Roman prisoners. The Roman territory is laid waste by Privernum and Velitrae.* § 12. *Two new tribes are added; a tribunician law against 'canvassing'* (ambitus) *is passed, directed against 'new men.'* **B.C. 358.**

Ch. 15.

Acrius invasere Galli dextrum cornu, neque sustineri 1
potuissent, ni forte eo loco dictator fuisset, Sex. Tullium nomine increpans rogitansque, sicine pugnaturos milites spopondisset? ubi illi clamores sint arma poscentium, ubi 2
minae, iniussu imperatoris proelium inituros? En ipsum imperatorem clara voce vocare ad proelium et ire armatum ante prima signa; ecquis sequeretur eorum, qui modo ducturi fuerint, in castris feroces, in acie pavidi? Vera 3
audiebant; itaque tantos pudor stimulos admovit, ut ruerent in hostium tela alienatis a memoria periculi animis. Hic primo impetus prope vecors turbavit hostes, eques deinde emissus turbatos avertit. Ipse dictator postquam 4
labantem una parte vidit aciem, signa in laevum cornu confert, quo turbam hostium congregari cernebat, et iis, qui in monte erant, signum, quod convenerat, dedit. Ubi 5
inde quoque novus clamor ortus, et tendere obliquo monte ad castra Gallorum visi sunt, tum metu, ne excluderentur, omissa pugna est, cursuque effuso ad castra ferebantur. Ubi quum occurrisset eis M. Valerius magister 6
equitum, qui, profligato dextro cornu, obequitabat hostium munimentis, ad montes silvasque vertunt fugam, plurimique 7
ibi a fallaci equitum specie agasonibusque excepti sunt; et eorum, quos pavor pertulerat in silvas, atrox caedes post

B.C. 358. sedatum proelium fuit. Nec alius post M. Furium quam
8 C. Sulpicius iustiorem de Gallis egit triumphum. Auri
quoque ex Gallicis spoliis satis magnum pondus saxo
9 quadrato saeptum in Capitolio sacravit. Eodem anno et
a consulibus vario eventu bellatum; nam Hernici a C.
Plautio devicti subactique sunt, Fabius collega eius incaute
10 atque inconsulte adversus Tarquinienses pugnavit. Nec
in acie tantum ibi cladis acceptum, quam quod trecentos
septem milites Romanos captos Tarquinienses immolarunt; qua foeditate supplicii aliquanto ignominia populi
11 Romani insignitior fuit. Accessit ad eam cladem et vastatio Romani agri, quam Privernates, Veliterni deinde, incursione repentina fecerunt. Eodem anno duae tribus,
12 Pomptina et Publilia, additae; ludi votivi, quos M. Furius
dictator voverat, facti; et de ambitu ab C. Poetelio tribuno plebis, auctoribus patribus, tum primum ad populum
13 latum est; eaque rogatione novorum maxime hominum
ambitionem, qui nundinas et conciliabula obire soliti erant,
compressam credebant.

Ch. 16. § 1. *A law is passed limiting interest* (de unciario fenore). § 2. *A new war begins with Falerii.* § 3. *C. Marcius ravages the land of the Privernates, defeats their army, and receives their surrender.* § 7. *In Manlius' army a law is passed in camp on the tax of* 5 *p. c. on manumission: the Tribunes of the plebs make it a capital offence to hold Comitia away from Rome.* § 9. *C. Licinius Stolo is convicted and fined under his own law.*

B.C. 357. Haud aeque laeta patribus insequenti anno, C. Marcio,
1 Cn. Manlio consulibus, de unciario fenore a M. Duillio,
L. Menenio tribunis plebis rogatio est perlata; et plebs
2 aliquanto eam cupidius scivit. Ad bella nova priore anno
destinata Falisci quoque hostes exorti, duplici crimine,
quod et cum Tarquiniensibus iuventus eorum militaverat,

et eos, qui Falerios perfugerant, quum male pugnatum est, B.C. 357.
repetentibus fetialibus Romanis non reddiderant. Ea pro- 3
vincia Cn. Manlio obvenit. Marcius exercitum in agrum
Privernatem, integrum pace longinqua, induxit militemque
praeda implevit. Ad copiam rerum addidit munificentiam,
quod nihil in publicum secernendo augenti rem privatam
militi favit. Privernates quum ante moenia sua castris 4
permunitis consedissent, vocatis ad contionem militibus
'Castra nunc' inquit, 'vobis hostium urbemque praedae
do, si mihi pollicemini, vos fortiter in acie operam nava-
turos nec praedae magis quam pugnae paratos esse.'
Signum poscunt ingenti clamore, celsique et spe haud 5
dubia feroces in proelium vadunt. Ibi ante signa Sex.
Tullius, de quo ante dictum est, exclamat 'Adspice, im-
perator' inquit, 'quemadmodum exercitus tuus tibi pro-
missa praestet,' piloque posito, stricto gladio in hostem
impetum facit. Sequuntur Tullium antesignani omnes, 6
primoque impetu avertere hostem; fusum inde ad oppi-
dum persecuti, quum iam scalas moenibus admoverent, in
deditionem urbem acceperunt. Triumphus de Priverna-
tibus actus. Ab altero consule nihil memorabile gestum, 7
nisi quod legem novo exemplo ad Sutrium in castris tri-
butim de vicesima eorum, qui manumitterentur, tulit.
Patres, quia ea lege haud parvum vectigal inopi aerario
additum esset, auctores fuerunt; ceterum tribuni plebis, 8
non tam lege quam exemplo moti, ne quis postea populum
sevocaret, capite sanxerunt: nihil enim non per milites
iuratos in consulis verba, quamvis perniciosum populo, si
id liceret, ferri posse. Eodem anno C. Licinius Stolo a 9
M. Popillio Laenate sua lege decem millibus aeris est
damnatus, quod mille iugerum agri cum filio possideret,
emancipandoque filium fraudem legi fecisset.

B.C. 356. § 1. *A war with Tibur is easily waged. The people of Falerii and Tarquinii, after causing some panic, are defeated.* § 6. *Thereupon all Etruria gathers. C. Marcius Rutilus is appointed Dictator, the first plebeian to hold the office, and takes the camp and* 8000 *prisoners, and triumphs without the sanction of the patres.* § 11. *After an interregnum, two patrician consuls are elected, in spite of the protest of the Tribunes.*

Ch. 17. 1 Novi consules inde, M. Fabius Ambustus iterum et M.
Popillius Laenas iterum, duo bella habuere, facile alterum
2 cum Tiburtibus, quod Laenas gessit, qui, hoste in urbem
compulso, agros vastavit; Falisci Tarquinienses que alte-
3 rum consulem prima pugna fuderunt. Inde terror maxi-
mus fuit, quod sacerdotes eorum, facibus ardentibus angui-
busque praelatis, incessu furiali militem Romanum insueta
turbaverunt specie. Et tum quidem velut lymphati et
4 attoniti munimentis suis trepido agmine inciderunt; deinde,
ubi consul legatique ac tribuni puerorum ritu vana mira-
cula paventes irridebant increpabantque, vertit animos
repente pudor, et in ea ipsa, quae fugerant, velut caeci
5 ruebant. Discusso itaque vano apparatu hostium, quum
in ipsos armatos se intulissent, averterunt totam aciem,
castrisque etiam eo die potiti, praeda ingenti parta, victores
reverterunt, militaribus iocis quum apparatum hostium,
6 tum suum increpantes pavorem. Concitatur deinde omne
nomen Etruscum, et Tarquiniensibus Faliscisque ducibus
ad Salinas perveniunt. Adversus eum terrorem dictator
C. Marcius Rutilus primus de plebe dictus magistrum
7 equitum item de plebe C. Plautium dixit. Id vero patribus
indignum videri, etiam dictaturam iam in promiscuo esse;
omnique ope impediebant, ne quid dictatori ad id bellum
decerneretur parareturve. Eo promptius cuncta ferente
8 dictatore populus iussit. Profectus ab urbe utraque parte
Tiberis, ratibus exercitu, quocunque fama hostium ducebat,

traiecto, multos populatores agrorum vagos palantes op- **B.C. 356.**
pressit; castra quoque necopinato aggressus cepit, et octo 9
millibus hostium captis, ceteris aut caesis aut ex agro
Romano fugatis, sine auctoritate patrum populi iussu tri-
umphavit. Quia nec per dictatorem plebeium nec per con- 10
sulem comitia consularia haberi volebant, et alter consul
Fabius bello retinebatur, res ad interregnum rediit. Inter- 11
reges deinceps Q. Servilius Ahala, M. Fabius, Cn. Manlius, **B.C. 355.**
C. Fabius, C. Sulpicius, L. Aemilius, Q. Servilius, M. Fabius
Ambustus. In secundo interregno orta contentio est, quod 12
duo patricii consules creabantur, intercedentibusque tribu-
nis interrex Fabius aiebat, in duodecim tabulis legem esse,
ut, quodcunque postremum populus iussisset, id ius ra-
tumque esset; iussum populi et suffragia esse. Quum 13
intercedendo tribuni nihil aliud, quam ut differrent comitia,
valuissent, duo patricii consules creati sunt, C. Sulpicius
Peticus tertium, M. Valerius Publicola, eodemque die
magistratum inierunt.

§ 1. *The wars with Tibur and Tarquinii are dwarfed by the strife between Plebs and Patricians, the latter striving to retain both places in the Consulship, the Plebs protesting against being deprived of both: but two patrician consuls are elected.* **Ch. 18.**

Quadringentesimo anno, quam urbs Romana condita 1
erat, quinto tricesimo, quam a Gallis recuperata, ablato
post undecimum annum a plebe consulatu, patricii con-
sules ambo ex interregno magistratum iniere, C. Sulpicius
Peticus tertium, M. Valerius Publicola. Empulum eo 2
anno ex Tiburtibus haud memorando certamine captum,
sive duorum consulum auspicio bellum ibi gestum est,
ut scripsere quidam, seu per idem tempus Tarquiniensium
quoque sunt vastati agri ab Sulpicio consule, quo Valerius
adversus Tiburtes legiones duxit. Domi maius certamen 3

B.C. 355. consulibus cum plebe ac tribunis erat. Fidei iam suae, non solum virtutis ducebant esse, ut accepissent duo
4 patricii consulatum, ita ambobus patriciis mandare: quin aut toto cedendum esse, ut plebeius iam magistratus consulatus fiat, aut totum possidendum, quam possessionem
5 integram a patribus accepissent. Plebes contra fremit: quid se vivere, quid in parte civium censeri, si, quod duorum hominum virtute, L. Sextii ac C. Licinii, partum
6 sit, id obtinere universi non possint? Vel reges vel de-
7 cemviros vel si quod tristius sit imperii nomen, patiendum esse potius, quam ambos patricios consules videant nec in vicem pareatur atque imperetur, sed pars altera in aeterno imperio locata plebem nusquam alio natam quam
8 ad serviendum putet. Non desunt tribuni auctores turbarum, sed inter concitatos per se omnes vix duces
9 eminent. Aliquoties frustra in campum descensum quum esset multique per seditiones acti comitiales dies, postremo victae perseverantia consulum plebis eo dolor erupit, ut tribunos, actum esse de libertate vociferantes relinquendumque non campum iam solum, sed etiam urbem captam atque oppressam regno patriciorum, maesta plebs sequeretur.
10 Consules relicti a parte populi, per infrequentiam comitia
B.C. 354. nihilo segnius perficiunt. Creati consules ambo patricii, M. Fabius Ambustus tertium, T. Quinctius. In quibusdam annalibus pro T. Quinctio M. Popillium consulem invenio.

Ch. 19. § 1. *Tibur submits.* § 2. *The people of Tarquinii receive cruel reward for their cruelty.* § 4. *The Samnites are accepted as allies.* § 5. *Meanwhile economic grievances divert attention from political.* § 6. *Two patrician consuls are elected. War is to be carried on against Caere and the Volscians, and T. Manlius is named Dictator.*

1 Duo bella eo anno prospere gesta. Cum Tiburtibus usque ad deditionem pugnatum. Sassula ex his urbs

capta, ceteraque oppida eandem fortunam habuissent, ni **B.C. 354.**
universa gens positis armis in fidem consulis venisset.
Triumphatum de Tiburtibus; alioquin mitis victoria fuit. 2
In Tarquinienses acerbe saevitum; multis mortalibus in
acie caesis, ex ingenti captivorum numero trecenti quin-
quaginta octo delecti, nobilissimus quisque, qui Romam
mitterentur; vulgus aliud trucidatum. Nec populus in 3
eos, qui missi Romam erant, mitior fuit; medio in foro
omnes virgis caesi ac securi percussi. Id pro immolatis
in foro Tarquiniensium Romanis poenae hostibus redditum.
Res bello bene gestae, ut Samnites quoque amicitiam 4
peterent, effecerunt. Legatis eorum comiter ab senatu
responsum; foedere in societatem accepti. Non eadem 5
domi, quae militiae, fortuna erat plebi Romanae. Nam
etsi, unciario fenore facto, levata usura erat, sorte ipsa
obruebantur inopes nexumque inibant; eo nec patricios
ambo consules neque comitiorum curam publicave studia
prae privatis incommodis plebs ad animum admittebat.
Consulatus uterque apud patricios manet; consules creati 6
C. Sulpicius Peticus quartum, M. Valerius Publicola **B.C. 353.**
iterum. In bellum Etruscum intentam civitatem, quia
Caeritem populum misericordia consanguinitatis Tar-
quiniensibus adiunctum fama ferebat, legati Latini ad
Volscos convertere, nuntiantes, exercitum conscriptum
armatumque iam suis finibus imminere: inde popula-
bundos in agrum Romanum venturos esse. Censuit 7
igitur senatus neutram negligendam rem esse; utroque
legiones scribi consulesque sortiri provincias iussit. In- 8
clinavit deinde pars maior curae in Etruscum bellum,
postquam litteris Sulpicii consulis, cui Tarquinii provincia
evenerat, cognitum est, depopulatum agrum circa Ro-
manas salinas praedaeque partem in Caeritum fines avec-

B.C. 353. tam, et haud dubie iuventutem eius populi inter praedatores
9 fuisse. Itaque Valerium consulem, Volscis oppositum cas-
traque ad finem Tusculanum habentem, revocatum inde
senatus dictatorem dicere iussit. T. Manlium L. filium
10 dixit. Is quum sibi magistrum equitum A. Cornelium
Cossum dixisset, consulari exercitu contentus ex auctoritate
patrum ac populi iussu Caeritibus bellum indixit.

Ch. 20. § 1. *The people of Caere, in alarm, appeal to Rome on the ground of their old services in the Gallic war,* § 8. *and peace is granted them, and a truce for* 100 *years.* § 9. *The rest of the year is spent in repair of walls and towers: and a temple is dedicated to Apollo.*

1 Tum primum Caerites, tanquam in verbis hostium vis
maior ad bellum significandum quam in suis factis, qui
per populationem Romanos lacessierant, esset, verus belli
terror invasit, et, quam non suarum virium ea dimicatio
2 esset, cernebant; paenitebatque populationis, et Tarquini-
enses exsecrabantur defectionis auctores; nec arma aut
bellum quisquam apparare sed pro se quisque legatos
3 mitti iubebat ad petendam erroris veniam. Legati senatum
quum adissent, ab senatu reiecti ad populum deos roga-
verunt, quorum sacra bello Gallico accepta rite pro-
curassent, ut Romanos florentes ea sui misericordia
caperet, quae se rebus affectis quondam populi Romani
4 cepisset; conversique ad delubra Vestae hospitium fla-
minum Vestaliumque ab se caste ac religiose cultum invo-
5 cabant: Eane meritos crederet quisquam hostes repente
sine causa factos? aut, si quid hostiliter fecissent, consilio
id magis quam furore lapsos fecisse, ut sua vetera bene-
ficia, locata praesertim apud tam gratos, novis corrum-
perent maleficiis, florentemque populum Romanum ac
felicissimum bello sibi desumerent hostem, cuius afflicti
amicitiam petissent? Ne appellarent consilium, quae vis ac

necessitas appellanda esset. Transeuntes agmine infesto B.C. 353.
per agrum suum Tarquinienses, quum praeter viam nihil pe- 6
tissent, traxisse quosdam agrestium populationis eius, quae
sibi crimini detur, comites. Eos seu dedi placeat, dedere 7
se paratos esse, seu supplicio affici, daturos poenas. Caere,
sacrarium populi Romani, deversorium sacerdotum ac re-
ceptaculum Romanorum sacrorum, intactum inviolatumque
crimine belli hospitio Vestalium cultisque dis darent.
Movit populum non tam causa praesens quam vetus meri- 8
tum, ut maleficii quam beneficii potius immemores essent.
Itaque pax populo Caeriti data, indutiasque in centum
annos factas in senatus consultum referri placuit. In 9
Faliscos eodem noxios crimine vis belli conversa est; sed
hostes nusquam inventi. Quum populatione peragrati
fines essent, ab oppugnatione urbium temperatum, legion-
ibusque Romam reductis, reliquum anni muris turribusque
reficiendis consumptum, et aedes Apollinis dedicata est.

§ 1. *A conflict between patricians and plebs over the Consulship leads to a long interregnum, disturbed by much faction.* § 3. *The Tribunes clamour for the Licinian law on the consulship, the plebs for relief of debt.* § 5. *Consuls are legally elected, and appoint a board of five* (quinqueviri mensarii) *for relief of debt by public loans.* § 9. *C. Iulius is named Dictator for the Etruscan war.* Ch. 21.

Extremo anno comitia consularia certamen patrum ac 1
plebis diremit, tribunis negantibus passuros comitia haberi,
ni secundum Liciniam legem haberentur, dictatore obsti-
nato tollere potius totum e re publica consulatum, quam
promiscuum patribus ac plebi facere. Prolatandis igitur 2
comitiis quum dictator magistratu abisset, res ad inter- B.C. 352.
regnum rediit. Infestam inde patribus plebem interreges
quum accepissent, ad undecimum interregem seditionibus
certatum est. Legis Liciniae patrocinium tribuni iacta- 3
bant; propior dolor plebi fenoris ingravescentis erat,

B.C. 352. curaeque privatae in certaminibus publicis erumpebant.
4 Quorum taedio patres L. Cornelium Scipionem interregem concordiae causa observare legem Liciniam comitiis consularibus iussere. P. Valerio Publicolae datus e plebe
5 collega C. Marcius Rutilus. Inclinatis semel in concordiam animis, novi consules fenebrem quoque rem, quae distinere una animos videbatur, levare aggressi solutionem alieni aeris in publicam curam verterunt, quinqueviris creatis, quos mensarios ab dispensatione pecuniae
6 appellarunt. Meriti aequitate curaque sunt, ut per omnium annalium monumenta celebres nominibus essent; fuere autem C. Duillius, P. Decius Mus, M. Papirius, Q. Publi-
7 lius, T. Aemilius. Qui rem difficillimam tractatu et plerumque parti utrique, semper certe alteri gravem quum alia moderatione, tum impendio magis publico quam
8 iactura sustinuerunt. Tarda enim nomina et impeditiora inertia debitorum quam facultatibus aut aerarium, mensis cum aere in foro positis, dissolvit, ut populo prius caveretur, aut aestimatio aequis rerum pretiis liberavit, ut non modo sine iniuria, sed etiam sine querimoniis partis
9 utriusque exhausta vis ingens aeris alieni sit. Terror inde vanus belli Etrusci, quum coniurasse duodecim populos fama esset, dictatorem dici coegit. Dictus in castris (eo enim ad consules missum senatus consultum est) C. Iulius, cui magister equitum adiectus L. Aemilius.

Ch. 22. § 1. *The Dictator tries to get two patrician consuls elected, and, after an interregnum, the plebs give way.* § 4. *The consuls ravage the land of Falerii and Tarquinii, but presently the Senate grant a forty years' truce.* § 6. *In view of recent changes of property, a census is held, and C. Marcius Rutilus (the first plebeian dictator) is appointed a censor.* § 10. *M. Fabius the dictator fails to suppress the Licinian consular law.*

1 Ceterum foris tranquilla omnia fuere; tentatum domi

per dictatorem, ut ambo patricii consules crearentur, rem B.C. 352.
ad interregnum perduxit. Duo interreges, C. Sulpicius et 2
M. Fabius, interpositi obtinuere, quod dictator frustra
tetenderat, mitiore iam plebe ob recens meritum levati
aeris alieni, ut ambo patricii consules crearentur. Creati 3
ipse C. Sulpicius Peticus, qui prior interregno abiit, et T. B.C. 351.
Quinctius Pennus; quidam Caesonem, alii Gaium nomen
Quinctio adiiciunt. Ad bellum ambo profecti, Faliscum 4
Quinctius, Sulpicius Tarquiniense, nusquam acie congresso
hoste, cum agris magis quam cum hominibus urendo
populandoque gesserunt bella; cuius lentae velut tabis 5
senio victa utriusque pertinacia populi est, ut primum a
consulibus, dein permissu eorum ab senatu indutias
peterent. In quadraginta annos impetraverunt. Ita 6
posita duorum bellorum, quae imminebant, cura, dum
aliqua ab armis quies esset, quia solutio aeris alieni
multarum rerum mutaverat dominos, censum agi placuit.
Ceterum quum censoribus creandis indicta comitia essent, 7
professus censuram se petere C. Marcius Rutilus, qui
primus dictator de plebe fuerat, concordiam ordinum
turbavit; quod videbatur quidem tempore alieno fecisse, 8
quia ambo tum forte patricii consules erant, qui rationem
eius se habituros negabant; sed et ipse constantia in- 9
ceptum obtinuit et tribuni omni vi, recuperaturi ius
consularibus comitiis amissum, adiuverunt, et quum ipsius
viri maiestas nullius honoris fastigium non aequabat, tum
per eundem, qui ad dictaturam aperuisset viam, censuram
quoque in partem vocari plebes volebat. Nec variatum 10
comitiis est, quin cum †Manlio Gnaeo censor Marcius crea-
retur. Dictatorem quoque hic annus habuit M. Fabium,
nullo terrore belli, sed ne Licinia lex comitiis consularibus
observaretur. Magister equitum dictatori additus Q. Ser- 11

B.C. 351. vilius. Nec tamen dictatura potentiorem eum consensum patrum consularibus comitiis fecit, quam censoriis fuerat.

B.C. 350. § 1. *M. Popillius Laenas, the plebeian consul, leads an army against the Gauls.* § 5. *Having occupied and entrenched a high position, he is attacked, and defeats the Gauls with heavy loss.*

Ch. 23. 1 M. Popillius Laenas a plebe consul, a patribus L.
Cornelius Scipio datus. Fortuna quoque illustriorem
2 plebeium consulem fecit; nam quum ingentem Gallorum
exercitum in agro Latino castra posuisse nuntiatum esset,
Scipione gravi morbo implicito, Gallicum bellum Popillio
3 extra ordinem datum. Is impigre exercitu scripto, quum
omnes extra portam Capenam ad Martis aedem convenire
armatos iuniores iussisset signaque eodem quaestores ex
aerario deferre, quattuor expletis legionibus, quod superfuit
4 militum, P. Valerio Publicolae praetori tradidit, auctor
patribus scribendi alterius exercitus, quod ad incertos belli
eventus subsidium rei publicae esset. Ipse iam satis
5 omnibus instructis comparatisque ad hostem pergit; cuius
ut prius nosceret vires, quam periculo ultimo tentaret, in
tumulo, quem proximum castris Gallorum capere potuit,
vallum ducere coepit. Gens ferox et ingenii avidi ad
6 pugnam quum, procul visis Romanorum signis, ut extemplo proelium initura explicuisset aciem, postquam
neque in aequum demitti agmen vidit et quum loci altitudine, tum vallo etiam tegi Romanos, perculsos pavore
rata, simul opportuniores, quod intenti tum maxime operi
essent, truci clamore aggreditur. Ab Romanis nec opus
7 intermissum (triarii erant, qui muniebant), et ab hastatis
principibusque, qui pro munitoribus intenti armatique
steterant, proelium initum. Praeter virtutem locus quoque
8 superior adiuvit, ut pila omnia hastaeque non tanquam ex
aequo missa vana, quod plerumque fit, caderent, sed omnia

librata ponderibus figerentur; oneratique telis Galli, quibus **B.C. 350.**
aut corpora transfixa aut praegravata inhaerentibus gere- 9
bant scuta, quum cursu paene in adversum subissent,
primo incerti restitere; dein, quum ipsa cunctatio et his
animos minuisset et auxisset hosti, impulsi retro ruere alii 10
super alios stragemque inter se caede ipsa foediorem dare;
adeo praecipiti turba obtriti plures quam ferro necati.

§ 1. *The Gauls make a stand in the plain, but, by the consul's vigour, are finally driven to the Alban Mount.* § 10. *The consul being wounded, L. Furius Camillus is named Dictator for the elections, and is elected consul with App. Claudius Crassus (both patrician).* **Ch. 24.**

Necdum certa Romanis victoria erat; alia in campum 1
degressis supererat moles. Namque multitudo Gallorum,
sensum omnem talis damni exsuperans, velut nova rursus 2
exoriente acie, integrum militem adversus victorem hostem
ciebat, stetitque suppresso impetu Romanus, et quia
iterum fessis subeunda dimicatio erat, et quod consul, dum 3
inter primores incautus agitat, laevo humero matari prope
traiecto, cesserat parumper ex acie. Iamque omissa 4
cunctando victoria erat, quum consul, vulnere alligato,
revectus ad prima signa 'Quid stas, miles?' inquit. 'Non
cum Latino Sabinoque hoste res est, quem victum armis
socium ex hoste facias; in beluas strinximus ferrum; 5
hauriendus aut dandus est sanguis. Propulistis a castris,
supina valle praecipites egistis, stratis corporibus hostium
superstatis; complete eadem strage campos, qua montes
replestis. Nolite exspectare, dum stantes vos fugiant; 6
inferenda sunt signa et vadendum in hostem.' His 7
adhortationibus iterum coorti pellunt loco primos mani-
pulos Gallorum; cuneis deinde in medium agmen per-
rumpunt. Inde barbari dissipati, quibus nec certa imperia 8
nec duces essent, vertunt impetum in suos; fusique per

B.C. 350. campos et praeter castra etiam sua fuga praelati, quod editissimum inter aequales tumulos occurrebat oculis, 9 arcem Albanam petunt. Consul non ultra castra insecutus, quia et vulnus degravabat et subiicere exercitum tumulis ab hoste occupatis nolebat, praeda omni castrorum militi data, victorem exercitum opulentumque Gallicis spoliis 10 Romam reduxit. Moram triumpho vulnus consulis attulit, eademque causa dictatoris desiderium senatui fecit, ut 11 esset, qui aegris consulibus comitia haberet. Dictator L. B.C. 349. Furius Camillus dictus, addito magistro equitum P. Cornelio Scipione, reddidit patribus possessionem pristinam consulatus. Ipse ob id meritum ingenti patrum studio creatus consul collegam App. Claudium Crassum dixit.

Ch. 25. § 1. *Popillius triumphs for his victory, and the plebs protest against being deprived of the consulship.* § 3. *Gauls ravage the plain and coast, and Greek fleets scour the seas.* § 5. *The Latins meet at the grove of Ferentina, and refuse to send levies to Rome.* § 7. *Ten Roman legions are raised, each of 4200 foot and 300 horse.* § 10. *App. Claudius dying, Camillus is left sole consul. He takes four legions against the Gauls and encamps in the Pomptine territory.*

1 Priusquam inirent novi consules magistratum, triumphus a Popillio de Gallis actus magno favore plebis; mussantesque inter se rogitabant, num quem plebeii consulis 2 paeniteret; simul dictatorem increpabant, qui legis Liciniae spretae mercedem [consulatum,] privata cupiditate quam publica iniuria foediorem cepisset, ut se ipse consulem 3 dictator crearet. Annus multis variisque motibus fuit insignis. Galli ex Albanis montibus, quia hiemis vim pati nequiverant, per campos maritimaque loca vagi popu- 4 labantur; mare infestum classibus Graecorum erat oraque litoris Antiatis Laurensque tractus et Tiberis ostia, ut praedones maritimi cum terrestribus congressi ancipiti

semel proelio decertarint, dubiique discesserint in castra B.C. 349.
Galli, Graeci retro ad naves, victos se an victores putarent.
Inter hos longe maximus exstitit terror concilia populorum 5
Latinorum ad lucum Ferentinae habita responsumque
haud ambiguum imperantibus milites Romanis datum,
absisterent imperare iis, quorum auxilio egerent; Latinos 6
pro sua libertate potius quam pro alieno imperio laturos
arma. Inter duo simul bella externa defectione etiam 7
sociorum senatus anxius, quum cerneret, metu tenendos,
quos fides non tenuisset, extendere omnes imperii vires
consules dilectu habendo iussit; civili quippe standum
exercitu esse, quando socialis [coetus] desereret. Undique, 8
non urbana tantum, sed etiam agresti iuventute, decem
legiones scriptae dicuntur quaternum millium et duce-
norum peditum equitumque trecenorum, quem nunc novum 9
exercitum, si qua externa vis ingruat, hae vires populi
Romani, quas vix terrarum capit orbis, contractae in unum
haud facile efficiant; adeo in quae laboramus, sola
crevimus, divitias luxuriamque. Inter cetera tristia eius 10
anni consul alter App. Claudius in ipso belli apparatu
moritur; redierantque res ad Camillum, cui unico consuli 11
vel ob aliam dignationem haud subiiciendam dictaturae
vel ob omen faustum ad Gallicum tumultum cognominis
dictatorem arrogari haud satis decorum visum est patribus.
Consul, duabus legionibus urbi praepositis, octo cum L. 12
Pinario praetore divisis, memor paternae virtutis Gallicum
sibi bellum extra sortem sumit, praetorem maritimam oram
tutari Graecosque arcere litoribus iussit. Et quum in 13
agrum Pomptinum descendisset, quia neque in campis
congredi nulla cogente re volebat et prohibendo popu-
lationibus, quos rapto vivere necessitas cogeret, satis
domari credebat hostem, locum idoneum stativis delegit.

B.C. 349. § 1. *A gigantic Gaul challenges the army, and is met by a military tribune, M. Valerius, who defeats him with the aid of a raven.* § 6. *A general battle follows, and the Gauls are driven to Apulia.* § 10. *Camillus joins forces with the praetor who is guarding the coasts.* § 12. *M. Valerius Corvus is elected consul with M. Popillius Laenas.* § 14. *The Greeks* (*who were probably from Sicily*) *leave the Italian coasts.*

Ch. 26. 1 Ubi quum *in* stationibus quieti tempus tererent, Gallus processit magnitudine atque armis insignis; quatiensque scutum hasta quum silentium fecisset, provocat per interpretem unum ex Romanis, qui secum ferro decernat.
2 M. erat Valerius tribunus militum adolescens, qui haud indigniorem eo decore se quam T. Manlium ratus, prius sciscitatus consulis voluntatem, in medium armatus pro-
3 cessit. Minus insigne certamen humanum numine interposito deorum factum; namque conserenti iam manum Romano corvus repente in galea consedit, in hostem
4 versus. Quod primo ut augurium caelo missum laetus accepit tribunus, precatus deinde, si divus, si diva esset, qui sibi praepetem misisset, volens propitius adesset.
5 Dictu mirabile, tenuit non solum ales captam semel sedem, sed, quotiescunque certamen initum est, levans se alis os oculosque hostis rostro et unguibus appetit, donec territum prodigii talis visu oculisque simul ac mente turbatum Valerius obtruncat; corvus ex conspectu elatus orientem
6 petit. Hactenus quietae utrinque stationes fuere; postquam spoliare corpus caesi hostis tribunus coepit, nec Galli se statione tenuerunt, et Romanorum cursus ad victorem etiam ocior fuit. Ibi circa iacentis Galli corpus
7 contracto certamine, pugna atrox concitatur. Iam non manipulis proximarum stationum, sed legionibus utrinque effusis res geritur. Camillus laetum militem victoria tribuni, laetum tam praesentibus ac secundis dis ire in

proelium iubet; ostentansque insignem spoliis tribunum, **B.C. 349.**
'Hunc imitare, miles' aiebat, 'et circa iacentem ducem
sterne Gallorum catervas.' Di hominesque illi affuere 8
pugnae, depugnatumque haudquaquam certamine ambiguo
cum Gallis est; adeo duorum militum eventum, inter quos
pugnatum erat, utraque acies animis praeceperat. Inter 9
primos, quorum concursus alios exciverat, atrox proelium
fuit; alia multitudo, priusquam ad coniectum teli veniret,
terga vertit. Primo per Volscos Falernumque agrum
dissipati sunt; inde Apuliam ac mare superum petierunt.
Consul, contione advocata, laudatum tribunum decem 10
bubus aureaque corona donat; ipse iussus ab senatu
bellum maritimum curare, cum praetore iunxit castra.
Ibi quia res trahi segnitia Graecorum non committentium 11
se in aciem videbantur, dictatorem comitiorum causa
T. Manlium Torquatum ex auctoritate senatus dixit. Dic- 12
tator, magistro equitum A. Cornelio Cosso dicto, comitia **B.C. 348.**
consularia habuit, aemulumque decoris sui absentem
M. Valerium Corvum (id enim illi deinde cognominis fuit)
summo favore populi, tres et viginti natum annos, con-
sulem renuntiavit. Collega Corvo de plebe M. Popillius 13
Laenas, quartum consul futurus, datus est. Cum Graecis
a Camillo nulla memorabilis gesta res; nec illi terra nec
Romanus mari bellator erat. Postremo quum litoribus 14
arcerentur, aqua etiam praeter cetera necessaria usui de-
ficiente, Italiam reliquere. Cuius populi ea cuiusque gentis 15
classis fuerit, nihil certi est. Maxime Siciliae fuisse ty-
rannos crediderim; nam ulterior Graecia ea tempestate
intestino fessa bello iam Macedonum opes horrebat.

B.C. 348. § 1. *A lectisternium is held, on account of a plague.* § 2. *A colony is sent to Satricum, which the Latins had destroyed: and a treaty is made with Carthage.* § 3. *Peace continues: the rate of interest is lowered, and the war-tax and levy stopped.* § 5. *M. Valerius Corvus is sent against the Volscians, who were rousing the Latins to revolt.* § 7. *The Volscians defeated, fly to Satricum, where they surrender: 4000 prisoners are sold in Rome.*

Ch. 27. 1 Exercitibus dimissis, quum et foris pax et domi concordia ordinum otium esset, ne nimis laetae res essent, pestilentia civitatem adorta coegit senatum imperare decemviris, ut libros Sibyllinos inspicerent, eorumque monitu
2 lectisternium fuit. Eodem anno Satricum ab Antiatibus colonia deducta restitutaque urbs, quam Latini diruerant; et cum Carthaginiensibus legatis Romae foedus ictum,
3 quum amicitiam ac societatem petentes venissent. Idem
B.C. 347. otium domi forisque mansit T. Manlio Torquato, C. Plautio consulibus. Semunciarium tantum ex unciario fenus factum, et in pensiones aequas triennii, ita ut quarta
4 praesens esset, solutio aeris alieni dispensata est; et sic quoque parte plebis affecta, fides tamen publica privatis difficultatibus potior ad curam senatui fuit. Levatae
5 maxime res, quia tributo ac dilectu supersessum. Tertio
B.C. 346. anno post Satricum restitutum a Volscis M. Valerius Corvus iterum consul cum C. Poetelio factus, quum ex Latio nuntiatum esset, legatos ab Antio circumire populos
6 Latinorum ad concitandum bellum, priusquam plus hostium fieret, Volscis arma inferre iussus, ad Satricum exercitu infesto pergit. Quo quum Antiates aliique Volsci, praeparatis iam ante, si quid ab Roma moveretur, copiis, occurrissent, nulla mora inter infensos diutino odio dimi-
7 candi facta est. Volsci, ferocior ad rebellandum quam ad bellandum gens, certamine victi fuga effusa Satrici moenia

petunt, et, ne in muris quidem satis firma spe, quum **B.C. 346.** corona militum cincta iam scalis caperetur urbs, ad quattuor millia militum praeter multitudinem imbellem sese dedidere. Oppidum dirutum atque incensum; ab 8
aede tantum matris Matutae abstinuere ignem; praeda omnis militi data. Extra praedam quattuor millia deditorum habita; eos vinctos consul ante currum triumphans egit; venditis deinde, magnam pecuniam in aerarium redegit. Sunt, qui hanc multitudinem captivam servorum fuisse 9
scribant, idque magis veri simile est quam deditos venisse.

§ 1. *L. Furius is named Dictator for war against the Aurunci, and crushes them in one battle: he vows a temple on the Capitol to Juno Moneta.* § 6. *The consuls take Sora.* § 7. *In consequence of portents, L. Valerius Publicola is named Dictator, and a general prayer is made.* § 9. *Severe sentences are given against usurers.* § 10. *After an interregnum two patrician consuls are elected.* **B.C. 345.**

Hos consules secuti sunt M. Fabius Dorsuo, Ser. Sul- 1 **Ch. 28.**
picius Camerinus. Auruncum inde bellum ab repentina populatione coeptum, metuque, ne id factum populi unius, 2
consilium omnis nominis Latini esset, dictator velut adversus armatum iam Latium L. Furius creatus, magistrum equitum Cn. Manlium Capitolinum dixit; et quum, quod 3
per magnos tumultus fieri solitum erat, iustitio indicto dilectus sine vacationibus habitus esset, legiones, quantum maturari potuit, in Auruncos ductae. Ibi praedonum magis quam hostium animi inventi; prima itaque acie debellatum est. Dictator tamen, quia et ultro bellum 4
intulerant et sine detrectatione se certamini offerebant, deorum quoque opes adhibendas ratus inter ipsam dimicationem aedem Iunoni Monetae vovit; cuius damnatus voti quum victor Romam revertisset, dictatura se abdicavit. Senatus duumviros ad eam aedem pro amplitudine 5

B.C. 345. populi Romani faciendam creari iussit; locus in arce
destinatus, quae area aedium M. Manlii Capitolini fuerat.
6 Consules dictatoris exercitu ad bellum Volscum usi Soram
ex hostibus, incautos adorti, ceperunt. Anno postquam
vota erat, aedes Monetae dedicatur, C. Marcio Rutilo
B.C. 344. tertium, T. Manlio Torquato iterum consulibus. Pro-
7 digium extemplo dedicationem secutum, simile vetusto
montis Albani prodigio; namque et lapidibus pluit et nox
interdiu visa intendi; librisque inspectis, quum plena reli-
gione civitas esset, senatui placuit, dictatorem feriarum
constituendarum causa dici. Dictus P. Valerius Publi-
8 cola; magister equitum ei Q. Fabius Ambustus datus est.
Non tribus tantum supplicatum ire placuit, sed finitimos
etiam populos, ordoque iis, quo quisque die supplicarent,
9 statutus. Iudicia eo anno populi tristia in feneratores
facta, quibus ab aedilibus dicta dies esset, traduntur; et
res, haud ulla insigni ad memoriam causa, ad interregnum
10 rediit. Ex interregno, ut id actum videri posset, ambo
patricii consules creati sunt, M. Valerius Corvus tertium.
A. Cornelius Cossus.

B.C. 343. § 1. *This year begins the period of the great and distant wars, with Samnites, Pyrrhus, and Poeni, which taxed Rome's powers to the utmost.* § 4. *The Sidicini, attacked by the Samnites, appeal to the Campanians, who bring them aid. The Samnites defeat the Campanians, occupy Tifata above Capua, and drive them into the city. They appeal to Rome.*

Ch. 29. 1 Maiora iam hinc bella et viribus hostium et longinqui-
tate vel regionum vel temporum [spatio], quibus bellatum
est, dicentur. Namque eo anno adversus Samnites, gen-
2 tem opibus armisque validam, mota arma; Samnitium
bellum ancipiti Marte gestum Pyrrhus hostis, Pyrrhum
Poeni secuti. Quanta rerum moles! quoties in extrema
periculorum ventum, ut in hanc magnitudinem, quae vix

sustinetur, erigi imperium posset! Belli autem causa cum **B.C. 343.**
Samnitibus Romanis, quum societate amicitiaque iuncti 3
essent, extrinsecus venit, non orta inter ipsos est. Sam- 4
nites Sidicinis iniusta arma, quia viribus plus poterant,
quum intulissent, coacti inopes ad opulentiorum auxilium
confugere Campanis sese coniungunt. Campani magis 5
nomen ad praesidium sociorum quam vires quum attulis-
sent, fluentes luxu ab duratis usu armorum in Sidicino
pulsi agro in se deinde molem omnem belli verterunt.
Namque Samnites, omissis Sidicinis ipsam arcem finiti- 6
morum Campanos adorti, unde aeque facilis victoria,
praedae atque gloriae plus esset, Tifata, imminentes
Capuae colles, quum praesidio firmo occupassent, descen-
dunt inde quadrato agmine in planitiem, quae Capuam
Tifataque interiacet. Ibi rursus acie dimicatum; adver- 7
soque proelio Campani intra moenia compulsi, quum
robore iuventutis suae acciso nulla propinqua spes esset,
coacti sunt ab Romanis petere auxilium.

§ 1. '*Your treaty with the Samnites,*' *they say*, '*does not exclude new alliances. We can keep a check on your enemies, the Aequians and Volscians, and when they are crushed our borders will touch.* § 9. *Choose whether you will have us for friends or foes.* § 12. *Our war is one of defence against aggression. Promise your help, and no war will be needed: and we shall ever be most devoted to you. Think of the hopes and prayers of our countrymen, and grant our request.*' **Ch. 30.**

Legati introducti in senatum maxime in hanc senten- 1
tiam locuti sunt. 'Populus nos Campanus legatos ad vos,
patres conscripti, misit, amicitiam in perpetuum, auxilium
praesens a vobis petitum. Quam si secundis rebus nos- 2
tris petissemus, sicut coepta celerius, ita infirmiore vinclo
contracta esset; tunc enim, ut qui ex aequo nos venisse
in amicitiam meminissemus, amici forsitan pariter ac nunc,

B.C. 343. subiecti atque obnoxii vobis minus essemus; nunc, miseri-
3 cordia vestra conciliati auxilioque in dubiis rebus defensi,
beneficium quoque acceptum colamus oportet, ne ingrati
atque omni ope divina humanaque indigni videamur.
4 Neque hercule, quod Samnites priores amici sociique
vobis facti sunt, ad id valere arbitror, ne nos in amicitiam
accipiamur, sed ut vetustate et gradu honoris nos prae-
stent; neque enim foedere Samnitium, ne qua nova iunge-
5 retis foedera, cautum est. Fuit quidem apud vos semper
satis iusta causa amicitiae, velle eum vobis amicum esse,
6 qui vos appeteret; Campani, etsi fortuna praesens magni-
fice loqui prohibet, non urbis amplitudine, non agri
ubertate ulli populo praeterquam vobis cedentes, haud
parva, ut arbitror, accessio bonis rebus vestris in ami-
7 citiam venimus vestram. Aequis Volscisque, aeternis
hostibus huius urbis, quandocunque se moverint, ab tergo
erimus, et quod vos pro salute nostra priores feceritis, id
8 nos pro imperio vestro et gloria semper faciemus. Sub-
actis iis gentibus, quae inter nos vosque sunt, quod pro-
pediem futurum spondet et virtus et fortuna vestra, con-
9 tinens imperium usque ad nos habebitis. Acerbum ac
miserum est, quod fateri nos fortuna nostra cogit: eo
ventum est, patres conscripti, ut aut amicorum aut inimi-
10 corum Campani simus. Si defenditis, vestri, si deseritis,
Samnitium erimus; Capuam ergo et Campaniam omnem
vestris an Samnitium viribus accedere malitis, deliberate.
11 Omnibus quidem, Romani, vestram misericordiam ves-
trumque auxilium aequum est patere, iis tamen maxime,
qui ea implorantibus aliis [auxilium] dum supra vires suas
praestant, *ante* omnes ipsi in hanc necessitatem venerunt.
12 Quanquam pugnavimus verbo pro Sidicinis, re pro nobis,
quum videremus finitimum populum nefario latrocinio

Samnitium peti et, ubi conflagrassent Sidicini, ad nos **B.C. 343.**
traiecturum illud incendium esse. Nec enim nunc, quia 13
dolent iniuriam acceptam Samnites, sed quia gaudent.
oblatam sibi esse causam, oppugnatum nos veniunt. An, 14
si ultio irae haec et non occasio cupiditatis explendae
esset, parum fuit, quod semel in Sidicino agro, iterum in
Campania ipsa legiones nostras cecidere? Quae est ista 15
tam infesta ira, quam per duas acies fusus sanguis explere
non potuerit? Adde huc populationem agrorum, praedas
hominum atque pecudum actas, incendia villarum ac ruinas,
omnia ferro ignique vastata. Hiscine ira expleri non 16
potuit? Sed cupiditas explenda est. Ea ad oppugnan-
dam Capuam rapit; aut delere urbem pulcherrimam aut
ipsi possidere volunt. Sed vos potius, Romani, beneficio 17
vestro occupate eam, quam illos habere per maleficium
sinatis. Non loquor apud recusantem iusta bella popu-
lum; sed tamen, si ostenderitis auxilia vestra, ne bello
quidem arbitror vobis opus fore. Usque ad nos contemp- 18
tus Samnitium pervenit, supra non escendit. Itaque
umbra vestri auxilii, Romani, tegi possumus, quicquid
deinde habuerimus, quicquid ipsi fuerimus, vestrum id
omne existimaturi. Vobis arabitur ager Campanus, vobis 19
Capua urbs frequentabitur; conditorum, parentium, deo-
rum immortalium numero nobis eritis; nulla colonia vestra
erit, quae nos obsequio erga vos fideque superet. Annuite, 20
patres conscripti, nutum numenque vestrum invictum
Campanis et iubete sperare, incolumem Capuam futuram.
Qua frequentia omnium generum multitudinis prosequente 21
creditis nos illinc profectos? quam omnia votorum lac-
rimarumque plena reliquisse? in qua nunc exspectatione
senatum populumque Campanum, coniuges liberosque
nostros esse? Stare omnem multitudinem ad portas viam 22

B.C. 343. hinc ferentem prospectantes, certum habeo. Quid illis nos, patres conscripti, sollicitis ac pendentibus animi re-
23 nuntiare iubetis? Alterum responsum salutem, victoriam, lucem ac libertatem; alterum, ominari horreo, quae ferat. Proinde ut aut de vestris futuris sociis atque amicis aut nusquam ullis futuris nobis consulite.'

Ch. 31. § 1. *The senate, through the consuls, refuse to take up arms, but promise to appeal to the Samnites.* § 4. *Thereupon the Campanians surrender themselves to Rome as subjects: and the Romans agree to defend their land. They send an embassy to the Samnites, who treat it with arrogance, and at once ravage Campania.*

1 Summotis deinde legatis, quum consultus senatus esset, etsi magnae parti urbs maxima opulentissimaque Italiae, uberrimus ager marique propinquus ad varietates annonae horreum populi Romani fore videbatur, tamen tanta utilitate fides antiquior fuit, responditque ita ex auctoritate
2 senatus consul: 'Auxilio vos, Campani, dignos censet senatus; sed ita vobiscum amicitiam institui par est, ne qua vetustior amicitia ac societas violetur. Samnites nobiscum foedere iuncti sunt. Itaque arma, deos prius quam homines violatura, adversus Samnites vobis negamus;
3 legatos, sicut ius fasque est, ad socios atque amicos precatum mittemus, ne qua vobis vis fiat.' Ad ea princeps legationis (sic enim domo mandatum attulerant) 'Quando quidem' inquit, 'nostra tueri adversus vim atque iniuriam
4 iusta vi non vultis, vestra certe defendetis. Itaque populum Campanum urbemque Capuam, agros, delubra deum, divina humanaque omnia in vestram, patres conscripti, populique Romani dicionem dedimus, quicquid deinde
5 patiemur, dediticii vestri passuri.' Sub haec dicta omnes, manus ad consules tendentes, pleni lacrimarum in vestibulo curiae procubuerunt. Commoti patres vice fortu-

narum humanarum, si ille praepotens opibus populus, **B.C. 343.**
luxuria superbiaque clarus, a quo paulo ante auxilium
finitimi petissent, adeo infractos gereret animos, ut se ipse
suaque omnia potestatis alienae faceret. Tum iam fides 7
agi visa, deditos non prodi; nec facturum aequa Samni-
tium populum censebant, si agrum urbemque per dedi-
tionem factam populi Romani oppugnarent. Legatos 8
itaque extemplo mitti ad Samnites placuit. Data man-
data, ut preces Campanorum, responsum senatus amicitiae
Samnitium memor, deditionem postremo factam Samniti-
bus exponerent; peterent pro societate amicitiaque, ut 9
dediticiis suis parcerent neque in eum agrum, qui populi
Romani factus esset, hostilia arma inferrent; si leniter 10
agendo parum proficerent, denuntiarent Samnitibus populi
Romani senatusque verbis, ut Capua urbe Campanoque
agro abstinerent. Haec legatis agentibus in concilio Sam- 11
nitium adeo est ferociter responsum, ut non solum gesturos
se esse dicerent id bellum, sed magistratus eorum, e curia
egressi, stantibus legatis, praefectos cohortium vocarent
iisque clara voce imperarent, ut praedatum in agrum Cam-
panum extemplo proficiscerentur.

§ 1. *War is declared, and Valerius is sent to Campania, Cornelius to Samnium.* § 3. *The Samnites first meet Valerius, and are eager for battle. Valerius encourages his men by appealing to the greatness of Rome and the devotion of his house.* **Ch. 32.**

Hac legatione Romam relata, positis omnium aliarum 1
rerum curis patres, fetialibus ad res repetendas missis bel-
loque, quia non redderentur, sollemni more indicto, decre-
verunt, ut primo quoque tempore de ea re ad populum
ferretur; iussuque populi consules ambo cum duobus 2
exercitibus ab urbe profecti, Valerius in Campaniam, Cor-
nelius in Samnium, ille ad montem Gaurum, hic ad
Saticulam castra ponunt. Priori Valerio Samnitium legi- 3

B.C. 343. ones (eo namque omnem belli molem inclinaturam cen-
sebant) occurrunt; simul in Campanos stimulabat ira tam
promptos nunc ad ferenda, nunc ad accersenda adversus
4 se auxilia. Ut vero castra Romana viderunt, ferociter
pro se quisque signum duces poscere, affirmare, eadem
fortuna Romanum Campano laturum opem, qua Cam-
5 panus Sidicino tulerit. Valerius levibus certaminibus
tentandi hostis causa haud ita multos moratus dies,
6 signum pugnae proposuit, paucis suos adhortatus, ne
novum bellum eos novusque hostis terreret: quicquid ab
urbe longius proferrent arma, magis magisque in imbelles
7 gentes eos prodire. Ne Sidicinorum Campanorumque
cladibus Samnitium aestimarent virtutem; qualescunque
inter se certaverint, necesse fuisse alteram partem vinci.
Campanos quidem haud dubie magis nimio luxu fluen-
tibus rebus mollitiaque sua quam vi hostium victos esse.
8 Quid autem esse duo prospera in tot saeculis bella Sam-
nitium adversus tot decora populi Romani, qui triumphos
9 paene plures quam annos ab urbe condita numeret; qui
omnia circa se, Sabinos, Etruriam, Latinos, Hernicos,
Aequos, Volscos, Auruncos, domita armis habeat; qui
Gallos tot proeliis caesos postremo in mare ac naves fuga
10 compulerit? Quum gloria belli ac virtute sua quemque
fretos ire in aciem debere, tum etiam intueri, cuius ductu
11 auspicioque ineunda pugna sit, utrum qui, audiendus dum-
taxat, magnificus adhortator sit, verbis tantum ferox,
operum militarium expers, an qui et ipse tela tractare,
procedere ante signa, versari media in mole pugnae sciat.
12 'Facta mea, non dicta vos, milites' inquit, 'sequi volo,
nec disciplinam modo, sed exemplum etiam a me petere.
Non factionibus nec per coitiones usitatas nobilibus, sed
hac dextra mihi tres consulatus summamque laudem

peperi. Fuit, quum hoc dici poterat: 'Patricius enim B.C. 343.
eras et a liberatoribus patriae ortus, et eodem anno familia 13
ista consulatum, quo urbs haec consulem habuit;' nunc 14
iam nobis patribus vobisque plebei promiscuus consulatus patet, nec generis, ut ante, sed virtutis est praemium. Proinde summum quodque spectate, milites, decus. Non, 15
si mihi novum hoc Corvini cognomen dis auctoribus homines dedistis, Publicolarum vetustum familiae nostrae cognomen memoria excessit; semper ego plebem Ro- 16
manam militiae domique, privatus, in magistratibus parvis magnisque, aeque tribunus ac consul, eodem tenore per omnes deinceps consulatus colo atque colui. Nunc, quod 17
instat, dis bene iuvantibus novum atque integrum de Samnitibus triumphum mecum petite.'

The army readily obey their popular commander, and a fierce engagement follows. After a long and doubtful conflict the Roman infantry at length win the day: and the Samnite camp is taken. Ch. 33.

Non alias militi familiarior dux fuit, omnia inter in- 1
fimos militum haud gravate munia obeundo. In ludo 2
praeterea militari, quum velocitatis viriumque inter se aequales certamina ineunt, comiter facilis; vincere ac vinci vultu eodem nec quemquam aspernari parem, qui se offerret; factis benignus pro re, dictis haud minus 3
libertatis alienae quam suae dignitatis memor, et, quo nihil popularius est, quibus artibus petierat magistratus, iisdem gerebat. Itaque universus exercitus incredibili 4
alacritate adhortationem prosecutus ducis castris egreditur. Proelium, ut quod maxime unquam, pari spe utrinque, 5
aequis viribus, cum fiducia sui sine contemptu hostium commissum est. Samnitibus ferociam augebant novae 6
res gestae et paucos ante dies geminata victoria, Romanis contra quadringentorum annorum decora et conditae urbi

B.C. 343. aequalis victoria; utrisque tamen novus hostis curam
7 addebat. Pugna indicio fuit, quos gesserint animos;
namque ita conflixerunt, ut aliquamdiu in neutram partem
8 inclinarent acies. Tum consul trepidationem iniiciendam
ratus, quando vi pelli non poterant, equitibus immissis
9 turbare prima signa hostium conatur. Quos ubi ne-
quicquam tumultuantes in spatio exiguo volvere turmas
vidit nec posse aperire in hostes viam, revectus ad ante-
signanos legionum, quum desiluisset ex equo, 'Nostrum'
10 inquit, 'peditum illud, milites, est opus. Agite dum,
ut me videritis, quacunque incessero in aciem hostium,
ferro viam facientem, sic pro se quisque obvios sternite:
illa omnia, qua nunc erectae micant hastae, patefacta
11 strage vasta cernetis.' Haec dicta dederat, quum equites
consulis iussu discurrunt in cornua legionibusque in
mediam aciem aperiunt viam. Primus omnium consul
invadit hostem et, cum quo forte contulit gradum, ob-
12 truncat. Hoc spectaculo accensi dextra laevaque ante se
quisque memorandum proelium ciet; stant obnixi Sam-
nites, quanquam plura accipiunt quam inferunt vulnera.
13 Aliquamdiu iam pugnatum erat; atrox caedes circa signa
Samnitium, fuga ab nulla dum parte erat; adeo morte
14 sola vinci destinaverant animis. Itaque Romani quum
et fluere iam lassitudine vires sentirent et diei haud multum
15 superesse, accensi ira concitant se in hostem. Tum pri-
mum referri pedem atque inclinari rem in fugam apparuit;
tum capi, occidi Samnis, nec superfuissent multi, ni nox
16 victoriam magis quam proelium diremisset. Et Romani
fatebantur, nunquam cum pertinaciore hoste conflictum,
et Samnites, quum quaereretur, quaenam prima causa
17 tam obstinatos movisset in fugam, oculos sibi Roma-
norum ardere visos aiebant, vesanosque vultus et furentia

ora; inde plus quam ex alia ulla re terroris ortum. **B.C. 343.**
Quem terrorem non pugnae solum eventu, sed nocturna profectione confessi sunt. Postero die vacuis hostium 18
castris Romanus potitur, quo se omnis Campanorum multitudo gratulabunda effudit.

Meanwhile the consul Cornelius is entrapped in a defile in Samnium, but is saved by the enterprise of the tribune P. Decius, who occupies a hill commanding the enemy's camp. **Ch. 34.**

Ceterum hoc gaudium magna prope clade in Samnio 1
foedatum est. Nam ab Saticula profectus Cornelius consul exercitum incaute in saltum cava valle pervium
circaque insessum ab hoste induxit nec prius, quam recipi 2
tuto signa non poterant, imminentem capiti hostem vidit.
Dum id morae Samnitibus est, quoad totum in vallem 3
infimam demitteret agmen, P. Decius tribunus militum conspicit unum editum in saltu collem, imminentem hostium castris, aditu arduum impedito agmini, expeditis
haud difficilem. Itaque consuli territo animi 'Videsne 4
tu' inquit, 'A. Corneli, cacumen illud supra hostem? Arx illa est spei salutisque nostrae, si eam, quoniam caeci
reliquere Samnites, impigre capimus. Ne tu mihi plus 5
quam unius legionis principes hastatosque dederis; cum quibus ubi evasero in summum, perge hinc omni liber metu, teque et exercitum serva; neque enim moveri hostis, subiectus nobis ad omnes ictus, sine sua pernicie
poterit. Nos deinde aut fortuna populi Romani aut nostra 6
virtus expediet.' Collaudatus ab consule, accepto prae- 7
sidio, vadit occultus per saltum; nec prius ab hoste est
visus, quam loco, quem petebat, appropinquavit. Inde 8
admiratione paventibus cunctis, quum omnium in se vertisset oculos, et spatium consuli dedit ad subducendum agmen in aequiorem locum et ipse in summo constitit

B.C. 343. vertice. Samnites dum huc illuc signa vertunt, utriusque
9 rei amissa occasione, neque insequi consulem nisi per
eandem vallem, in qua paulo ante subiectum eum telis
suis habuerant, possunt nec erigere agmen in captum
10 super se ab Decio tumulum; sed quum ira in hos magis,
qui fortunam gerendae rei eripuerant, tum propinquitas loci
11 atque ipsa paucitas incitat, et nunc circumdare undique
collem armatis volunt, ut a consule Decium intercludant,
nunc viam patefacere, ut degressos in vallem adoriantur.
Incertos, quid agerent, nox oppressit. Decium primum
12 spes tenuit, cum subeuntibus in adversum collem ex
superiore loco se pugnaturum; deinde admiratio incessit,
quod nec pugnam inirent nec, si ab eo consilio iniquitate
13 loci deterrerentur, opere se valloque circumdarent. Tum
centurionibus ad se vocatis: 'Quaenam illa inscitia belli
ac pigritia est? aut quonam modo isti ex Sidicinis Cam-
panisque victoriam pepererunt? Huc atque illuc signa
moveri ac modo in unum conferri, modo diduci videtis;
opus quidem incipit nemo, quum iam circumdati vallo
14 potuerimus esse. Tum vero nos similes istorum simus,
si diutius hic moremur, quam commodum sit. Agite
dum, ite mecum, ut, dum lucis aliquid superest, quibus
locis praesidia ponant, qua pateat hinc exitus, exploremus.'
15 Haec omnia sagulo gregali amictus, centurionibus item
manipularium militum habitu ductis, ne ducem circumire
hostes notarent, perlustravit.

Ch. 35. *At the second watch of the night Decius calls upon his men to make a sally, and all consent.*

1 Vigiliis deinde dispositis, ceteris omnibus tesseram dari
iubet, ubi secundae vigiliae būcina datum signum esset,
2 armati cum silentio ad se convenirent. Quo ubi, sicut
edictum erat, taciti convenerunt, 'Hoc silentium, milites'

inquit, 'omisso militari assensu, in me audiendo servandum B.C. 343.
est. Ubi sententiam meam vobis peregero, tum, quibus
eadem placebunt, in dextram partem taciti transibitis;
quae pars maior erit, eo stabitur consilio. Nunc, quae 3
mente agitem, audite. Non fuga delatos nec inertia
relictos hic vos circumvenit hostis; virtute cepistis locum,
virtute hinc oportet evadatis. Veniendo huc exercitum 4
egregium populo Romano servastis; erumpendo hinc
vosmet ipsos servate; digni estis, qui pauci pluribus opem
tuleritis, ipsi nullius auxilio egueritis. Cum eo hoste res 5
est, qui hesterno die delendi omnis exercitus fortuna per
socordiam usus non sit; hunc tam opportunum collem
imminentem capiti suo non ante viderit quam captum a
nobis; nos tam paucos tot ipse millibus hominum nec 6
ascensu arcuerit nec tenentes locum, quum diei tantum
superesset, vallo circumdederit. Quem videntem ac vigi-
lantem sic eluseritis, sopitum oportet fallatis, immo necesse
est; in eo enim loco res sunt nostrae, ut vobis ego magis 7
necessitatis vestrae index quam consilii auctor sim. Neque 8
enim, maneatis an abeatis hinc, deliberari potest, quum
praeter arma et animos armorum memores nihil vobis
fortuna reliqui fecerit, fameque et siti moriendum sit, si
plus, quam viros ac Romanos decet, ferrum timeamus.
Ergo una est salus erumpere hinc atque abire. Id aut 9
interdiu aut nocte faciamus oportet. Ecce autem aliud 10
minus dubium; quippe, si lux exspectetur, quae spes est,
non vallo perpetuo fossaque nos saepturum hostem, qui
nunc corporibus suis subiectis undique cinxerit, ut videtis,
collem? Atqui si nox opportuna est eruptioni, sicut est,
haec profecto noctis aptissima hora est. Signo secundae 11
vigiliae convenistis, quod tempus mortales somno altissimo
premit; per corpora sopita vadetis, vel silentio incautos

B.C. 343. fallentes vel sentientibus clamore subito pavorem iniecturi.
12 Me modo sequimini, quem secuti estis; ego eandem, quae
duxit huc, sequar fortunam. Quibus haec salutaria
videntur, agite dum, in dextram partem pedibus transite.'

Ch. 36. § 1. *The enemy are roused, but the Roman detachment force their way to the camp, which they enter at dawn, with great triumph.* § 10. *At the suggestion of Decius they attack the scattered Samnites in the early morning, kill* 30,000, *and take their camp.*

1 Omnes transierunt, vadentemque per intermissa custo-
2 diis loca Decium secuti sunt. Iam evaserant media castra,
quum superscandens vigilum strata somno corpora miles
offenso scuto praebuit sonitum; quo excitatus vigil quum
proximum movisset erectique alios concitarent, ignari
cives an hostes essent, praesidium erumperet an consul
3 castra cepisset, Decius, quoniam non fallerent, clamorem
tollere iussis militibus, torpidos somno insuper pavore
exanimat, quo praepediti nec arma impigre capere nec
4 obsistere nec insequi poterant. Inter trepidationem
tumultumque Samnitium praesidium Romanum, obviis
5 custodibus caesis, ad castra consulis pervadit. Aliquantum
supererat noctis, iamque in tuto videbantur esse, quum
Decius 'Macte virtute' inquit, 'milites Romani, este.
Vestrum iter ac reditum omnia saecula laudibus ferent;
6 sed ad conspiciendam tantam virtutem luce ac die opus
est, nec vos digni estis, quos cum tanta gloria in castra
7 reduces silentium ac nox tegat. Hic lucem quieti oppe-
riemur.' Dictis obtemperatum; atque ubi primum illuxit,
praemisso nuntio ad consulem, castra ingenti gaudio
concitantur, et, tessera data, incolumes reverti, qui sua
corpora pro salute omnium haud dubio periculo obiecis-
sent, pro se quisque obviam effusi laudant, gratulantur,
singulos universosque servatores suos vocant, dis laudes

gratesque agunt, Decium in caelum ferunt. Hic Decii B.C. 343.
castrensis triumphus fuit, incedentis per media castra cum 8
armato praesidio, coniectis in eum omnium oculis, et omni
honore tribunum consuli aequantibus. Ubi ad praetorium 9
ventum est, consul classico ad contionem convocat, orsusque
meritas Decii laudes, interfante ipso Decio distulit
contionem; qui auctor omnia posthabendi, dum occasio 10
in manibus esset, perpulit consulem, ut hostes et nocturno
pavore attonitos et circa collem castellatim dissipatos
aggrederetur: credere etiam, aliquos ad se sequendum
emissos per saltum vagari. Iussae legiones arma capere, 11
egressaeque castris, quum per exploratores notior iam
saltus esset, via patentiore ad hostem ducuntur; quem 12
incautum improviso adortae, quum palati passim Samnitium
milites, plerique inermes, nec coire in unum nec
arma capere nec recipere intra vallum se possent, paventem
primum in castra compellunt, deinde castra ipsa, turbatis
stationibus, capiunt. Perfertur circa collem clamor 13
fugatque ex suis quemque praesidiis. Ita magna pars absenti
hosti cessit; quos intra vallum egerat pavor (fuere
autem ad triginta millia), omnes caesi; castra direpta.

§ 1. *Decius and his men receive special honours.* § 4. *The Samnite* Ch. 37.
army routed by Valerius prepare for a last effort at Suessula, and Valerius rapidly marches thither and occupies a small position. § 10. *The Samnites having dispersed to forage, Valerius takes their camp at a rush, and routs their scattered troops with great slaughter.*

Ita rebus gestis, consul, advocata contione, P. Decii 1
non coeptas solum ante, sed cumulatas nova virtute laudes
peragit, et praeter militaria alia dona aurea corona eum et
centum bubus eximioque uno albo opimo auratis cornibus
donat. Milites, qui in praesidio simul fuerant, duplici 2

B.C. 343. frumento in perpetuum, in praesentia singulis bubus binisque tunicis donati. Secundum consulis donationem legiones gramineam coronam obsidialem, clamore donum approbantes, Decio imponunt; altera corona, eiusdem
3 honoris index, a praesidio suo imposita est. His decoratus insignibus bovem eximium Marti immolavit, centum boves militibus dono dedit, qui secum in expeditione fuerant. Iisdem militibus legiones libras farris et sextarios vini contulerunt; omniaque ea ingenti alacritate per clamorem
4 militarem, indicem omnium assensus, gerebantur. Tertia pugna ad Suessulam commissa est, qua fugatus a M. Valerio Samnitium exercitus, omni robore iuventutis domo
5 accito, certamine ultimo fortunam experiri statuit. Ab Suessula nuntii trepidi Capuam, inde equites citati ad
6 Valerium consulem opem oratum veniunt. Confestim signa mota, relictisque impedimentis *ac* castrorum valido praesidio, raptim agitur agmen; nec procul ab hoste locum perexiguum, ut quibus praeter equos ceterorum iumentorum calonumque turba abesset, castris cepit.
7 Samnitium exercitus, velut haud ulla mora pugnae futura esset, aciem instruit; deinde, postquam nemo obvius ibat,
8 infestis signis ad castra hostium succedit. Ibi ut militem in vallo vidit, missique ab omni parte exploratum, quam in exiguum orbem contracta castra essent, paucitatem
9 inde hostium colligentes rettulerunt, fremere omnis acies, complendas esse fossas scindendumque vallum et in castra irrumpendum; transactumque ea temeritate bellum foret,
10 ni duces continuissent impetum militum. Ceterum, quia multitudo sua, commeatibus gravis, et prius sedendo ad Suessulam et tum certaminis mora haud procul ab rerum omnium inopia esset, placuit, dum inclusus paveret hostis,
11 frumentatum per agros militem duci; interim Romano,

qui expeditus, quantum humeris inter arma geri posset **B.C. 343.**
frumenti, secum attulisset, defutura omnia. Consul 12
palatos per agros quum vidisset hostes, stationes infrequentes relictas, paucis milites adhortatus ad castra oppugnanda ducit. Quae quum primo clamore atque 13
impetu cepisset, pluribus hostium in tentoriis suis quam in portis valloque caesis, signa captiva in unum locum conferri iussit; relictisque duabus legionibus custodiae et praesidii causa, gravi edicto monitis, ut, donec ipse revertisset, praeda abstinerent, profectus agmine instructo. 14
quum praemissus eques velut indagine dissipatos Samnites ageret, caedem ingentem fecit. Nam neque, quo signo 15
coirent inter se, neque, utrum castra peterent an longiorem intenderent fugam, territis constare poterat; tantumque 16
fugae ac formidinis fuit, ut ad quadraginta millia scutorum, nequaquam tot caesis, et signa militaria cum iis, quae in castris capta erant, ad centum septuaginta ad consulem deferrentur. Tum in castra hostium reditum, ibique omnis 17
praeda militi data.

§ 1. *These victories induce the Faliscans to seek alliance, and divert the Latins. Even the Carthaginians send congratulations.* § 4. *Garrisons are sent to Suessula and Capua.* § 5. *The soldiers in Capua, demoralised by the climate, make a plot to take the city, which is discovered by C. Marcius Rutilus, the new consul.* **Ch. 38.**

Huius certaminis fortuna et Faliscos, quum in indutiis 1
essent, foedus petere ab senatu coegit et Latinos, iam exercitibus comparatis, ab Romano in Pelignum vertit bellum. Neque ita rei gestae fama Italiae se finibus 2
tenuit, sed Carthaginienses quoque legatos gratulatum Romam misere cum coronae aureae dono, quae in Capitolio in Iovis cella poneretur; fuit pondo viginti

B.C. 343. quinque. Consules ambo de Samnitibus triumpharunt,
3 sequente Decio insigni cum laude donisque, quum incondito militari ioco haud minus tribuni celebre nomen quam
4 consulum esset. Campanorum deinde Suessulanorumque auditae legationes, precantibusque datum, ut praesidium eo in hiberna mitteretur, quo Samnitium excursiones
5 arcerentur. Iam tum minime salubris militari disciplinae Capua instrumento omnium voluptatium delenitos militum animos avertit a memoria patriae, inibanturque consilia in hibernis in eodem scelere adimendae Campanis Capuae,
6 per quod illi eam antiquis cultoribus ademissent: neque immerito suum ipsorum exemplum in eos versurum. Cur autem potius Campani agrum Italiae uberrimum, dignam agro urbem, qui nec se nec sua tutari possent, quam victor exercitus haberet, qui suo sudore ac sanguine
7 inde Samnites depulisset? An aequum esse, dediticios suos illa fertilitate atque amoenitate perfrui, se militando fessos in pestilenti atque arido circa urbem solo luctari aut in urbe insidentem tabem crescentis in dies fenoris
8 pati? Haec agitata occultis coniurationibus necdum
B.C. 342. vulgata in omnes consilia invenit novus consul C. Marcius Rutilus, cui Campania sorte provincia evenerat, Q. Servilio
9 collega ad urbem relicto. Itaque quum omnia ea, sicut gesta erant, per tribunos comperta haberet, et aetate et usu doctus, quippe qui iam quartum consul esset dictatorque et censor fuisset, optimum ratus differendo spem, quandocunque vellent, consilii exsequendi militarem impetum frustrari, rumorem dissipat, in iisdem oppidis et
10 anno post praesidia hibernatura; divisa enim erant per Campaniae urbes, manaverantque a Capua consilia in exercitum omnem. Eo laxamento cogitationibus dato, quievit in praesentia seditio.

§ I. *The consul gets rid of the dangerous troops on various pretexts, but they gather together and entrench a camp near Alba Longa.* **B.C. 342.**
§ II. *They force T. Quinctius, an old patrician and soldier, to lead them against Rome, but they are checked at the eighth milestone by the approach of an army under the Dictator M. Valerius Corvus.*

Consul, educto in aestiva milite, dum quietos Samnites 1 **Ch. 39.**
habebat, exercitum purgare missionibus turbulentorum
hominum instituit, aliis emerita dicendo stipendia esse,
alios graves iam aetate aut viribus parum validos. Quidam 2
in commeatus mittebantur, singuli primo, deinde et co-
hortes quaedam, quia procul ab domo ac rebus suis hiber-
nassent; per speciem etiam militarium usuum, quum alii
alio mitterentur, magna pars ablegati. Quam multitu- 3
dinem consul alter Romae praetorque, alias ex aliis
fingendo moras, retinebat. Et primo quidem ignari 4
ludificationis minime inviti domos revisebant; postquam
neque reverti ad signa primos, nec ferme alium, quam qui
in Campania hibernassent, praecipueque ex his seditionis
auctores mitti viderunt, primum admiratio, deinde haud
dubius timor incessit animos, consilia sua emanasse: iam 5
quaestiones, iam indicia, iam occulta singulorum supplicia
impotensque et crudele consulum ac patrum in se regnum
passuros. Haec, qui in castris erant, occultis sermonibus 6
serunt, nervos coniurationis electos arte consulis cernentes.
Cohors una quum haud procul Anxure esset, ad Lautulas 7
saltu angusto inter mare ac montes consedit ad exci-
piendos, quos consul aliis atque aliis, ut ante dictum est,
causis mittebat. Iam valida admodum numero manus 8
erat, nec quicquam ad iusti exercitus formam praeter
ducem deerat. Incompositi itaque praedantes in agrum
Albanum perveniunt, et sub iugo Albae Longae castra

B.C. 342. vallo cingunt. Perfecto inde opere, reliquum diei de
9 imperatore sumendo sententiis decertant, nulli ex praesentibus satis fidentes: quem autem ab Roma posse exciri?
10 quem patrum aut plebis esse, qui aut se tanto periculo sciens offerat, aut cui ex iniuria insanientis exercitus causa
11 recte committatur? Postero die quum eadem deliberatio teneret, ex praedatoribus vagis quidam compertum attulerunt, T. Quinctium in Tusculano agrum colere, urbis
12 honorumque immemorem. Patriciae hic vir gentis erat, cui quum militiae magna cum gloria actae finem pes alter ex vulnere claudus fecisset, ruri agere vitam procul ambi-
13 tione ac foro constituit. Nomine audito extemplo agnovere virum et, quod bene verteret, acciri iusserunt. Sed parum spei erat, voluntate quicquam facturum; vim
14 adhiberi ac metum placuit. Itaque silentio noctis quum tectum villae, qui ad id missi erant, intrassent, somno gravem Quinctium oppressum, nihil medium, aut imperium atque honorem aut, ubi restitaret, mortem, ni
15 sequeretur, denuntiantes, in castra pertraxerunt. Imperator extemplo adveniens appellatus, insigniaque honoris exterrito subitae rei miraculo deferunt, et ad urbem ducere
16 iubent. Suo magis inde impetu quam consilio ducis convulsis signis, infesto agmine ad lapidem octavum viae,
17 quae nunc Appia est, perveniunt; issentque confestim ad urbem, ni venire contra exercitum dictatoremque adversus se M. Valerium Corvum dictum audissent, et magistrum equitum L. Aemilium Mamercinum.

Ch. 40. *Valerius addresses the army as a messenger of peace, and is supported by T. Quinctius.*

1 Ubi primum in conspectum ventum est *et* arma signaque agnovere, extemplo omnibus memoria patriae iras per-

mulsit. Nondum erant tam fortes ad sanguinem civilem, B.C. 342.
nec praeter externa noverant bella ultimaque rabies se- 2
cessio ab suis habebatur; itaque iam duces, iam milites
utrinque congressus quaerere ac colloquia. Quinctius, 3
quem armorum etiam pro patria satietas teneret, nedum
adversus patriam, Corvus omnes caritate cives, praecipue
milites et ante alios suum exercitum complexus. *Is* ad
colloquium processit. Cognito ei extemplo haud minore 4
ab adversariis verecundia quam ab suis silentium datum.
'Deos' inquit, 'immortales, milites, vestros publicos meos-
que, ab urbe proficiscens ita adoravi veniamque supplex
poposci, ut mihi de vobis concordiae partae gloriam, non
victoriam darent. Satis fuit eritque, unde belli decus 5
pariatur; hinc pax petenda est. Quod deos immortales
inter nuncupanda vota expoposci, eius me compotem voti
vos facere potestis, si meminisse vultis, non vos in Samnio 6
nec in Volscis, sed in Romano solo castra habere, si illos
colles, quos cernitis, patriae vestrae esse, si hunc exercitum
civium vestrorum, si me consulem vestrum, cuius ductu
auspicioque priore anno bis legiones Samnitium fudistis,
bis castra vi cepistis. Ego sum M. Valerius Corvus, 7
milites, cuius vos nobilitatem beneficiis erga vos, non
iniuriis sensistis, nullius superbae in vos legis, nullius
crudelis senatus consulti auctor, in omnibus meis imperiis
in me severior quam in vos. Ac si cui genus, si cui sua 8
virtus, si cui etiam maiestas, si cui honores subdere
spiritus potuerunt, iis eram natus, id specimen mei de-
deram, ea aetate consulatum adeptus eram, ut potuerim
tres et viginti annos natus consul patribus quoque ferox
esse, non solum plebi. Quod meum factum dictumve 9
consulis gravius quam tribuni audistis? Eodem tenore
duo insequentes consulatus gessi, eodem haec imperiosa

B.C. 342. dictatura geretur; neque in hos meos et patriae meae milites mitior quam in vos (horreo dicere) hostes ero.
10 Vos prius in me strinxeritis ferrum quam in vos ego, istinc signa canent, istinc clamor prius incipiet atque
11 impetus, si dimicandum est. Inducite in animum, quod non induxerunt patres avique vestri, non illi, qui in Sacrum montem secesserunt, non hi, qui postea Aven-
12 tinum insederunt. Exspectate, dum vobis singulis, ut olim Coriolano, matres coniugesque crinibus passis obviae ab urbe veniant. Tum Volscorum legiones, quia Romanum habebant ducem, quieverunt; vos, Romanus
13 exercitus, ne destiteritis impio bello. T. Quincti, quocunque istic loco seu volens seu invitus constitisti, si dimicandum erit, tum tu in novissimos te recipito; fugeris etiam honestius tergumque civi dederis, quam pugnaveris
14 contra patriam. Nunc ad pacificandum bene atque honeste inter primos stabis et colloquii huius salutaris interpres fueris. Postulate aequa et ferte; quanquam vel iniquis standum est potius, quam impias inter nos conseramus
15 manus.' T. Quinctius plenus lacrimarum ad suos versus 'Me quoque' inquit, 'milites, si quis usus mei est, me-
16 liorem pacis quam belli habetis ducem. Non enim illa modo Volscus aut Samnis, sed Romanus verba fecit, vester consul, vester imperator, milites, cuius auspicia
17 pro vobis experti nolite adversus vos velle experiri. Qui pugnarent vobiscum infestius, et alios duces senatus habuit; qui maxime vobis, suis militibus, parceret, cui plurimum vos, imperatori vestro, crederetis, eum elegit.
18 Pacem etiam, qui vincere possunt, volunt; quid nos velle
19 oportet? Quin omissis ira et spe, fallacibus auctoribus, nos ipsos nostraque omnia cognitae permittimus fidei?'

§ 1. *The army assents, and Valerius procures an amnesty for the seceders.* § 4. *A law is passed forbidding the discharge of a soldier without his consent.* § 8. *A proposal is made to lower the pay of the cavalry.* **B.C. 342.**

Approbantibus clamore cunctis, T. Quinctius ante signa 1 **Ch. 41.**
progressus in potestate dictatoris milites fore dixit; oravit, ut causam miserorum civium susciperet, susceptamque eadem fide, qua rem publicam administrare solitus esset, tueretur. Sibi se privatim nihil cavere; nolle alibi quam 2
in innocentia spem habere; militibus cavendum, quod apud patres semel plebi, iterum legionibus cautum sit, ne fraudi secessio esset. Quinctio collaudato, ceteris bonum 3
animum habere iussis, dictator equo citato ad urbem revectus, auctoribus patribus tulit ad populum in luco Petelino, ne cui militum fraudi secessio esset. Oravit etiam bona venia Quirites, ne quis eam rem ioco seriove cuiquam exprobraret. Lex quoque sacrata militaris lata 4
est, ne cuius militis scripti nomen nisi ipso volente deleretur; additumque legi, ne quis, ubi tribunus militum fuisset, postea ordinum ductor esset. Id propter P. Salo- 5
nium postulatum est ab coniuratis, qui alternis prope annis et tribunus militum et primus centurio erat, quem nunc primi pili appellant. Huic infensi milites erant, 6
quod semper adversatus novis consiliis fuisset et, ne particeps eorum esset, ab Lautulis fugisset. Itaque quum 7
hoc unum propter Salonium ab senatu non impetraretur, tum Salonius obtestatus patres conscriptos, ne suum honorem pluris quam concordiam civitatis aestimarent, perpulit, ut id quoque ferretur. Aeque impotens postu- 8
latum fuit, ut de stipendio equitum (merebant autem triplex ea tempestate) aera demerentur, quod adversati coniurationi fuissent.

B.C. 342. § 1. *Some authorities relate that L. Genucius passed a law against usury: and that other laws were passed* (1) *forbidding anyone to hold the same magistracy twice in ten years,* (2) *forbidding the tenure of two magistracies in the same year,* (3) *allowing both consuls to be plebeian.* § 3. *The authorities disagree in other points: the one thing certain is that there was a mutiny and that it was quieted.* § 8. *This and the Samnite war shakes the allegiance of the allies: and the people of Privernum ravage Setia and Norba.*

Ch. 42. 1 Praeter haec invenio apud quosdam. L. Genucium tribu-
2 num plebis tulisse ad plebem, ne fenerare liceret; item aliis
plebiscitis cautum, ne quis eundem magistratum intra decem
annos caperet, neu duos magistratus uno anno gereret, utique
liceret consules ambos plebeios creari. Quae si omnia
concessa sunt plebi, apparet, haud parvas vires defectionem
3 habuisse. Aliis annalibus proditum est, neque dictatorem
Valerium dictum, sed per consules omnem rem actam, ne-
que antequam Romam veniretur, sed Romae eam multitu-
4 dinem coniuratorum ad arma consternatam esse, nec in T.
Quinctii villam, sed in aedes C. Manlii nocte impetum factum
eumque a coniuratis comprehensum, ut dux fieret; inde ad
5 quartum lapidem profectos loco munito consedisse; nec ab
ducibus mentionem concordiae ortam, sed repente, quum
6 in aciem armati exercitus processissent, salutationem factam,
et permixtos dextras iungere ac complecti inter se lacri-
mantes milites coepisse, coactosque consules, quum vide-
rent aversos a dimicatione militum animos, rettulisse ad
7 patres de concordia reconcilianda. Adeo nihil, praeterquam
seditionem fuisse eamque compositam, inter antiquos rerum
8 auctores constat. Et huius fama seditionis et susceptum
cum Samnitibus grave bellum aliquot populos ab Romana
societate avertit, et, praeter Latinorum infidum iam diu
foedus, Privernates etiam Norbam atque Setiam, finitimas
colonias Romanas, incursione subita depopulati sunt.

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NOTES.

BOOK V.

§ 1. **Comitia.** 'Comitium ab eo quod coibant eo,' says an old Latin writer. The three Roman Comitia were the *Curiata*, *Centuriata*, and *Tributa*. The distinctive name was given to each, according to the manner in which the voting was conducted. At the *Curiata*, the people voted in 'curiae.' Romulus was said to have divided his subjects into thirty curiae, ten for each of his three Tribes, each curia containing ten gentes. Originally, it was the important assembly; afterwards, its functions became limited to ceremonial matters, e. g. the choice of certain priests, and the adoption ('arrogatio') of persons who were 'sui iuris,' and the passing of the *lex curiata de imperio* conferring command. In the *Centuriata* the people voted according to their centuries, the division attributed to Servius Tullius, and based upon property qualifications. To this assembly were limited the choice of some of the higher magistrates, the voting of aggressive wars, and questions affecting the life and 'civitas' of any citizen. After B. C. 494 the Plebs became a corporation with officers (*tribuni plebis*) and an assembly, which met by tribes. This meeting, though technically only a *concilium plebis*, and not strictly *Comitia populi*, gradually acquired full legislative power (finally and unconditionally by lex Hortensia, B.C. 287), and is often called *Comitia Tributa* by the historians. It elected tribunes, and plebeian aediles, and was the important legislative assembly. Modern authorities are not agreed whether there was also a *Comitia Tributa* proper, i. e. an assembly of the *populus Romanus* by tribes: but if there was, its functions were not extensive (see Madvig, *Die Verfassung und Verwaltung des Römischen Staats*, Kap. iii. § 5; Mommsen, *Römische Forschungen*, Art. *Rome* in Encycl. Britann.). The Comitia Centuriata, being a military meeting, was held outside the city in the *Campus Martius*, the Comitia Curiata in the Comitium, to the north-east of the Forum, and the Assembly of the Plebs in the Forum. **Chap. 1.**

§ 2. **tribuni militum consulari potestate.** First appointed B. C. 444, cp. Book 4. 7. They were elected to the chief magistracy in the place of consuls, as a device to prevent the surrender to the plebs of the right of eligibility to the consulship. But a plebeian was not elected to the military tribunate till B. C. 400.

Chap. 1. § 2. **octo, quot nunquam antea.** At first, three were chosen, then four (4. 35). So the 'tribuni plebis' were at first two in number (2. 33): these chose three colleagues; and after the decemviri (3. 54) ten were elected. B.C. 449. The Capitoline Fasti give Postumius and Camillus as censors this year; perhaps Livy is wrong in putting them among the military tribunes. See note on 6. 37. 6.

iterum, tertium. These numerals coupled to the names of officials refer to the number of times they had been elected, 'for the second, third time.' Cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 5. 4 'Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa.'

§ 3. **taedio annuae ambitionis,** 'tired of the annual electioneering.'

regem creavere. In 4. 17 the Veientians had a king, Lars Tolumnius.

non maiore odio, &c. Compare the Greek use of *οὐ μᾶλλον ἤ*, generally to be rendered 'not so much . . . as.' 'Not so much from a dislike to royalty as to the individual chosen.'

§ 4. **genti,** 'the whole nation.'

§ 5. **artifices,** 'the actors.' Cp. 7. 2. 6 'Vernaculis artificibus . . . nomen histrionibus inditum.'

§ 6. **religionibus,** 'religious festivals.'

colendi, 'celebrating.'

§ 7. **qui . . . a quo.** The antecedent to 'a quo' is 'eum,' which comes in the next clause, 'who promised to treat anyone, by whom any such news should be said to have been reported, as a ringleader of rebellion, and not merely the author of idle gossip.'

§ 8. **Romanis, etsi . . . ita muniebant.** For a similar construction cp. 22. 29. 9 'Nobis, quoniam prima . . . negata sors est, secundam teneamus.'

§ 9. **ancipitia** (*ambo, caput*), 'facing two ways.'

aliis, sc. 'munimentis,' is the ablative, 'auxiliis' the dative after 'obstruebatur.' The literal meaning is, 'by the other works the side facing Etruria was protected against any assistance,' &c.

alia . . . aliis, used of two lines of fortifications, probably to avoid *alter* in the plural.

Chap. 2. § 1. **hibernacula.** These were huts of wood covered with skins; cp. 7 'sub pellibus durare.'

res nova, 'a new experience.'

continuare, 'to carry on without a break.'

§ 2. **novandi res,** 'of agitation.' Cp. 'novae res' = a revolution, and *νεωτερίζειν*.

sollicitant. 'They work upon the feelings of the commons.'

§ 3. **Hoc illud esse . . . quod** = This then was the reason why. Cf. Eur. Helena 622 *τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖνο*. Regular pay was first given to

the troops about three years before this time, in B.C. 406. See 4. 59. 11 **Chap. 2.** 'Omnium maxime tempestivum principum in multitudinem munus, ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet;' and note the tribunes' opposition to it in 4. 60, where they use arguments which are replied to by Appius Claudius (infra, cap. 3).

§ 4. **Venisse**, from 'veneo.'

iuventutem. The regular word for 'soldiery;' as infra, § 5, 'iuvenum;' cp. 18. 10. 'Iuvenis' included persons between the ages of about 20 and 40; cp. 6. 2. 6 'Dilectum iuniorum habuit, ita ut seniores quoque in verba sua iuratos centuriaret.' Gellius says that soldiers were called 'iuniores' by Servius Tullius up to the age of 46, and after that 'seniores.'

§ 7. **durare**, 'was persevering,' 'holding on.'

quae . . . sit. In Livy's use of Oratio Obliqua, of which this chapter gives a good instance, the present tenses of the subjunctive are constantly employed with considerable freedom and effect; infra, § 10, 'qui . . . admoneat;' and cp. 1. 9. 14, 15; 4. 2; 4. 35. 'Sit' is here present because the statement is of universal application, a general truth, 'winter which is a time of rest for every man.'

§ 8. **Hoc** with **servitutis**, 'such a badge of slavery.' See note on Genitive in Excursus, p. 27.

Tribuni plebis were appointed in B.C. 494 after the first secession of the plebs.

triste dictatoris imperium. There was no appeal ('provocatio') from the sentence of a dictator. Cp. 4. 26 'severissimi imperii virum dictatorem dixit.' For **triste** = 'stern' see Index.

importunos = cruel, tyrannical.

ut . . . facerent. Explanatory of 'Hoc . . . servitutis.'

Quod tribuni . . . exercerent. In this, and the question in the next section, Livy writes as though 'rogitantes' were expressed; for in ordinary Oratio Obliqua, questions in the 1st and 3rd persons are turned into the infinitive mood, questions in the 2nd into the subjunctive. Weissenborn quotes 7. 15. 2 'Ecquis sequeretur eorum qui . . .,' but there 'increpans rogitansque' precedes the semi-Oratio Obliqua.

§ 9. **proconsularem imaginem**, 'the mere semblance of consular power,' i.e. the military tribunate.

ulli plebeio. The first plebeian elected as 'tribunus militum consulari potestate' was P. Licinius Calvus; infra, 12. 9.

§ 10. **obtinenda** = to administer their office. Cp. 30. 19 'Ut Galliam atque Italiam armis obtineant.' The use of 'obtinere' = 'to get' as well as 'to hold' is quite classical; but with official duties the latter is more usually the meaning conveyed.

in turba . . . haerere. 'Not even one to bring up the rear.' Weissenborn quotes Cic. Vat. 5. 11 'Nunc te . . . extremum haesisse.'

Chap. 2. § 11. **cives eorum**, 'their fellow-citizens.' 'Forum' refers to 'collegas.'

§ 13. **Appius Claudius.** The family was of Sabine origin, and had migrated to Rome, cp. 2. 16. This idea of rendering the tribunes powerless had occurred as early as 480 to a member of the family (2. 44); and in 4. 36. 5, the son of the decemvir was left in Rome: 'Praefectum urbis relinquunt, impigrum iuvenem et iam inde ab incunabulis imbutum odio tribunorum plebisque.' This one is the grandson of the decemvir, 4. 48. 6 'proavum enim suum Ap. Claudium ostendisse patribus viam unam dissolvendae tribuniciae potestatis per collegarum intercessionem.' The deadlock caused by such a proceeding is well illustrated in the time of Tib. Gracchus, whose colleague Octavius vetoed his laws and was deposed.

Chap. 3. § 2. **vestra an sua causa** = 'for your interest or their own.'

§ 3. **secundis potissimum**, 'because this mistake has been corrected at a time, *of all others*, when you are prosperous.' 'Potissimum,' lit. most preferably, being the superlative of 'potius,' is constantly used thus to qualify an adjective.

§ 4. **quisquam.** Used because the answer would be negative.

si quae . . . fuerunt. The indicative shows that the speaker admits that some wrongs have been done. 'Has any man a doubt that no wrongs done by us, granting that some have perhaps been done, ever annoyed and excited the tribunes as much as the concession of the patricians to the plebs, when pay was established for men on service?'

§ 5. **quam dissolvendae . . . esse**, 'which, they think, more than anything else is calculated to destroy.' The genitive of the gerundive here expresses the tendency of an act; cp. infra, 6. 15.

§ 6. **hercule**, 'in effect.'

artifices improbi, 'unscrupulous doctors.' 'Artifex' is rather used of a man versed in 'artes non sordidae;' for 'sordidae artes' (*βάναυσοι τέχναι*) 'opifex' is used.

ut sit, ad cuius. 'That there may be some object for the treatment of which they may be employed (called in) by you.'

§ 8. **et, quemadmodum, &c.** 'And just as a master forbids strangers to have any dealings with his slaves.'

in iis, i.e. in the case of slaves, his own and another's.

interdicere is used with several constructions; interdicere alicui ne, alicui aliquid, alicui aliqua re, aliquem aliqua re.

dicto audiens. This dative after 'audio' is quite classical; and even a personal dative is used by Livy 1. 41 'Servio Tullio iubere populum dicto audientem esse;' 4. 26 'Placere consules senatui dicto audientes esse.'

§ 9. **quanto magis vos oportuit**, together.

non dico, 'the feeling, I do not say of a fellow-countryman, but of a man.' For the antithesis 'civilis . . . humani' cp. 23. 5. **Chap. 3.**

§ 10. **maximum**, predicate.

§ 1. **infecta re**, *ἄπρακτοι*, before their object is gained. **Chap. 4.**

ipsa, the *actual* position of the men on service.

§ 2. **disceptante** = diiudicante, acting as judge.

§ 3. **quibus**, &c. The infin. 'iniungi' depends on 'indignari possunt,' 'that some additional work in proportion is assigned to men who have received an additional advantage.'

§ 4. **Labor**, &c. Weiss. quotes Plato, Phaedo 60 B Ὡς ἄτοπον, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔοικέ τι εἶναι τοῦτο, ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἡδύ· ὡς θαυμασίως πέφυκε πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν ἐναντίον εἶναι, τὸ λυπηρόν, . . . ἐὰν δέ τις διώκῃ τὸ ἕτερον καὶ λαμβάνῃ, σχεδόν τι ἀναγκάζεσθαι ἀεὶ λαμβάνειν καὶ τὸ ἕτερον, ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς συνημμένω δύ' ὄντε.

societate quadam, 'are united to one another by a kind of natural tie.'

§ 5. **suo sumptu.** The burdens to which the yeoman-soldier was subject are well illustrated in 2. 23. 5 'Direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore imperatum.'

partem anni = half the year.

quaerere, unde . . . posset = obtain the means to support.

§ 7. **ad calculos vocare.** Cicero uses this phrase De Amic. 16. 58 'ad calculos vocare amicitiam.'

solidum, 'full;' cp. ὅλος, sollus, sollemnis, sollistimus.

§ 8. **agere**, 'deal,' 'bargain.'

§ 10. **spei nostrae**, 'if we do not withdraw until we have crowned our hopes by the capture of Veii.'

indignitas. Probably = rei indignitas, 'the disgrace of our position,' 'the slur upon us;' infra 45. 6 'indignitas' is joined with 'ira,' and means 'indignation.' Cp. 16. 4.

§ 11. **quot terras.** Accus. of extension over space, as always: e.g. 'tria millia passuum abest.' 'Distans' is nom. agreeing with 'urbs.'

§ 12. **annuam** = for a year.

Scilicet, 'it must be that,' 'surely.' Ironical.

satis quicquam, 'nor is any amount of genuine suffering enough to:' or 'satis quicquam' may be redundant, 'nor is there in any way enough genuine,' &c.

§ 13. **Septies rebellarunt.** Cp. 4. 32. 2 'Veientem hostem sexies victum.'

Fidenates deficere. For the revolt of Fidenae and the murder of the Roman envoys see 4. 17.

§ 14. **Etruriam omnem concitare.** Cp. 4. 23. 5 'Legatis circa XII populos missis, ut ad Voltumnae fanum indiceretur omni Etruriae concilium.'

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Chap. 6. § 15. **capti,** 'deluded.'

§ 16. **agant,** 'discuss.'

§ 17. **demum.** Ironical. 'This is what Roman freedom has come to.'

Chap. 7. § 1. **unde minime quis,** 'quis' = anyone, one, is more commonly used with 'si,' 'ne,' 'nisi,' 'quum.' 'From a quarter whence one would least expect it.'

maiorem fecit, 'increased the harmony of the Orders, and stimulated their enthusiasm.'

§ 2. **tantum non,** *ὅσον οὐ*, 'all but.'

interdiu, 'in the daytime.'

§ 4. **tum vero,** 'now, most assuredly,' 'the time was come when.'

velut ab se victae, 'were, so to speak, exulting over the government which they had defeated.'

§ 5. **quibus census equester . . . equi publici non . . . assignati.** These would be men whose income would have entitled them to a position in the eighteen centuries of the 'equites,' established (1. 43) by Servius Tullius, but who were not admitted to them. The nominal distinction remained down to the time of Cicero; Phil. 6. 12 'Altera ab equitibus Romanis equo publico.' The narrative here recalls the tale of the Fabii, 2. 48. 8, &c., which was also a part of the history of the struggle against Veii.

stipendia facturos. 'Mereri stipendia' is also used. The word 'stipendia,' which means the soldier's pay, is taken as equivalent to the service for which the pay is given.

§ 6. **Curia.** The word is connected with 'Quiris,' 'Quirites,' 'Curetes.' Originally it applied to any place of meeting for the religious services of a 'curia.' Specially, it is the Curia Hostilia, built by Tullus Hostilius, in which the senate held its meetings. For its position see note on § 9.

§ 7. Madvig makes the ordinary text more intelligible by bracketing 'se' and 'que' as superfluous. 'Now, they say, it is the duty of the foot-soldiers to offer extraordinary service to the government.'

velint, sc. 'imperatores, magistratus.'

§ 8. **non enim . . . iussi.** 'There was not, as with the Equites, an order made that the magistrates should thank them.' For the passive use of 'iubeo' cp. 9. 37. 10 'Aurum iussum referri;' 24. 45. 9 'Auri pondus ei servari iussum.'

§ 9. **pro se quisque.** The senators, individually; each in his own manner.

comitio. The 'comitium' was a paved area on the north-east side of the Forum Romanum, probably a little below its level. From the 'comitium' a flight of steps led up to the 'curia' which was to the

north of it. Cp. 1. 36. 5 'in comitio in gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiae.' **Chap. 7.**

§ 10. **laudibus ferre,** 'praise to the skies,' 'extol.'

§ 12. **pietas** is the feeling of duty towards gods, parents, and country: and conversely, the reciprocal feelings of kindness from gods to men, parents to children. For its various meanings an index to Virgil should be consulted. Here 'loyalty.'

placere procedere. In this sense of passing a resolution 'placere' is used with simple infinitive, 'ut' with subj., and gerundival construction. For 'procedere' cp. 25. 5 'stipendia procedere.'

numerus aeris, 'amount of pay.' Cp. 12. 12 'qui tribunus militum triplex stipendium equitibus dederat.'

§ 13. **subvehi,** 'taken up stream,' Veii being in Etruria. Cp. 24. 40 'flumine adverso subvectus.'

§ 2. **cura omnium** = general interest. **Chap. 8.**

vacationibus. The 'vacatio' was the furlough, or leave of absence granted to the soldiers. In imperial times, the complaint is made that the inferior officers, e. g. centurions, extorted large amounts of money from the soldiers before they would grant such leave. Cp. Tac. Ann. 1. 17. Otherwise it stands for 'exemption from service:' cp. 7. 28. 3; 8. 20. 3 'scribere exercitum sine ulla vacationis venia.'

receptando. The frequentative shows that the practice was habitual. The ablatives explain 'neglectum:' for the variety of constructions see Excursus, p. 18.

§ 3. **minus,** 'less,' 'fewer than one would have expected.'

lixae, joined with 'negotiatores,' Tac. Ann. 2. 62. For their demoralising influence on camp discipline cp. Sall. Jug. 44, 45. The mention of trade has a certain interest, as this element of Roman life is apt to be obscured by the ceaseless 'annual register' of war after war with which the history of Rome so plentifully abounds. The destruction of Carthage and that of Corinth have both been rightly referred to commercial jealousy.

§ 4. **quod . . . caput.** This attraction of the relative into the case of the word in apposition is not uncommon. Madvig, Lat. Gr. 316. Cp. Cic. Phil. 2. 54 'Cn. Pompeium, quod imperii Populi Romani decus ac lumen fuit.'

plus, with **animi** and **irarum.** Cp. supra 9. 5 'plus in iis iuris quam in vobis animi.'

§ 5. **proximi regione,** 'nearest in position,' 'nearest geographically.'

devictis Veiis. Hypothetical, 'if Veii were conquered.'

bello Romano proximos, 'next exposed to war with Rome.' 'propius' and 'proxime' are used with dat., acc., and abl. Virg. G.

Chap. 8. 1. 355 'propius stabulis;' Sall. Jug. 18 'propius mare;' Cic. Tusc. 1. 26 'propius aberat ab ortu.'

§ 6. **infesti**, 'antagonistic,' 'ready to fight.'

Fidenati bello; 4. 17. 11 'legiones Faliscorum auxilio venerunt.' *Ibid.* 18.

ultro citroque = on both sides, in all directions. Cp. Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 108:—

'Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.'

necopinato. The particle 'nec,' as an inseparable negative, appears in 'negotium' (nec-otium), 'neglego' (nec-lego), and with 'c' dropped in 'nequaquam,' 'nequicquam.' For the adverb cp. auspicato, &c.

§ 7. **crediderant**, for plupft. cf. 18. 11 'had formed the belief, and were entertaining it.'

§ 8. **concursantes**, 'rushing hither and thither;' cp. Caes. B. Gall. 5. 33.

satis, 'properly,' 'completely.' There is a certain delicacy of language in the use of this word, which avoids a more pronounced expression. Cp. Preface to Book 1, ad init. 'nec satis scio.'

§ 9. **subveniretur**, impers. 'if help were to be sent.'

diversae, predicate, 'dividing the work,' explained by *aliae* . . . *aliae*.

§ 10. **castella**, detached forts, or bastions, standing at intervals along the lines of fortification; as in Caes. B. Gall. 1. 8.

in armis = sub armis: 'ready for battle.'

si opus, &c., depends on 'dictitans . . . missurum.'

§ 12. **praeesse legatos**, 'that the legates (subordinate officers) should command the troops.'

§ 13. **certatum.** Impersonal passive use of neuter verb; cf. itur, saevitum est, ventum est, laboratur. 'The two colleagues attacked each other with recriminations.'

pauci, &c. 'Ceteri' or 'plerique' should be supplied before 'huic atque illi.' Cp. Tac. Ann. 1. 63 'ut opus et alii proelium inciperent,' and Livy 3. 37. 'Few think of the public good, most support the one or the other, according as party spirit or personal feeling had influenced them.' 'Quosque' refers to the supporters of Sergius and Verginius respectively. 'Occupaverant' is the reading of Madvig; but as 'studium aut gratia' is the subject, it is hard to see any reason for the plural.

Chap. 9. § 1. **iustum tempus.** So 'iustum proelium, iustus exercitus.' See Index. The ordinary and right time for 'tribuni militum' in the place of consuls to take office would be the 13th of December. Cp. § 3.

calendas. The root is Kal-, cal-, as in Greek καλέω. Cf. calata comitia, cla-mo.

occipio. The word is not used by Cicero or Caesar.

§ 2. **In quam sententiam.** 'When a division was taken in support of this proposal.' Senators who wished to support a motion used

frequently to signify their assent by taking their seats near the proposer of it. 'Discessio' is also used for a division. Pro Sest. 74 'fieretque sine ulla varietate discessio.' **Chap. 9.**

§ 3. **intercedere.** 'Intercessio' is the technical term for the right of a magistrate to quash a magisterial decree, a Senatus consultum, or a Rogatio. Though originally exercised by any magistrate of equal or superior power to the one whose act is interfered with, it came to be practically confined to the tribunes of the plebs, for two reasons, (1) because their whole power rested, not on command, but on interference; (2) because their power was superior to that of any magistrate except the dictator.

sollemnem, from 'sollus,' i.e. 'totus-annus,' meaning that which happens every year; thus, usual, annual.

§ 4. **quum in concordia.** The remark is characteristic of Livy's attitude towards the conduct of the tribunes of the plebs.

nisi in auctoritate, 'if they refused to submit to the senate.' The power of the tribunes of the plebs to imprison other officials is questioned in the next clause. In 2. 56 Laetorius a tribune orders the removal and arrest of some young nobles. This is resisted by the consul; and Laetorius sends his officer to arrest the consul himself, who retaliates by sending a lictor to seize the tribune.

§ 5. **ne**, a particle of asseveration, 'I should indeed be glad to test.'

§ 6. **locum iniuriae**, 'an excuse for wrong doing.'

pertinacius, 'too obstinately:' ellipse of 'quam rectum est,' or some similar phrase.

§ 7. **terriculis.** The diminutive is evidently meant here to express contempt. Cicero and Caesar do not use the word.

§ 1. **M.'** abbreviation for Manius. **K.** for Kaeso. **Chap. 10.**

§ 3. **tributum** is the special term for 'war-tax,' the Greek *εἰσφορά*. It was an extraordinary tax only levied when necessary for military purposes. For Roman Revenue see infra on 7. 16. 7.

laboratum est, 'there was a difficulty.'

cooptandis. This form of election by the officials already elected choosing others as their colleagues chiefly obtained in the priestly offices. Cic. Brut. 1 'in collegium augurum.' The 'rogationis carmen,' cited in Livy 3. 64. 9, shows that the tribunes of the plebs had a right to choose colleagues: 'quos hi sibi collegas cooptassint, legitimi eadem lege tribuni plebei sint.' Infra, §§ 10, 11.

duo iudicia, 'the two trials'—of Sergius and Virginius.

§ 4. **iuniores . . . seniores.** See supra, note on 2. 4.

§ 5. **ea conficiebatur**, 'it was raised.' 'Conficere pecuniam' is to make up or put together a sum of money. Cic. Fl. 9. 20 'conficiendae pecuniae rationes.' In 6, infra, it is used for 'ruin,' 'wear out.'

Chap. 10. § 5. **tuentibus**, dative after the gerundive 'laborandum.'

rei publicae, dative after 'servire.'

§ 6. **seditiosis**, 'inflammatory.'

contio is used both of 'a meeting' and of a 'harangue' delivered at a meeting.

arguendo. The ablative of the gerund is used in Latin where Greek would usually have a participle in agreement with the substantive. See Excursus, p. 23.

§ 7. **tertium.** The years are reckoned from the time when winter service began.

pueros . . . extractos. It is worth noticing that Livy's choice of words very aptly reproduces the emphatic language that would be employed by the speakers.

§ 9. **vectigalis . . . facta sit**, 'has been brought to the worst form (extremity) of taxation.'

affecta, 'ruined,' 'exhausted.' Cp. 7. 27. 4.

re familiari. The regular phrase for property, because the 'paterfamilias,' or head of the family, was the responsible owner according to the civil law.

fenore accepta, 'borrowed at interest.' Cp. acceptum, expensum referre.

§ 10. **patricii.** Cp. 2. 33. 1 'neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret.'

For **tribuniciae**, which is in the MSS., Weissenborn read 'Treboniae.' Madvig brackets 'tribuniciae' as spurious.

Chap. 11. § 1. **debitum praestare**, 'to owe it as a duty.' 'Praestare' in this sense is 'to guarantee,' 'make good.'

nomini ac familiae debitum. Cf. 4. 52. 1 'velut pensum nominis familiaeque.'

§ 2. **quondam.** Cp. 3. 64. 65. Other readings are 'quidam,' 'nequidquam.' 'Quod petissent' depends upon 'expugnasse.' 'Tribunos plebis' has been conjectured, but on obviously insufficient grounds; and Livy has said nothing about the 'tribuni militum' having acted in this matter: therefore Madvig inclines to bracket 'tribunos militum' as doubtful. The 'lex Trebonia,' B.C. 448 (3. 65), provided that if, in the case of an election of tribunes of the plebs, the places were not filled up, the presiding official should continue the voting until the number was completed.

asseclae, 'satellites.' The word is derived from 'ad-sequor,' and is so used by Cicero.

§ 3. **arguere.** Historic infin. for indic., not the infin. of Oratio Obliqua: = he maintained.

§ 4. **arderent inv.**, 'were very unpopular.'

trepidi, with objective genitive as in 36. 31 and Aen. 12. 589 'trepidae rerum;' Tac. Ann. 6. 21 'trepidi admirationis ac metus.' **Chap. 11.**

die dicta; 'diem dicere,' to appoint a day, i. e. for trial.

§ 5. **clade**, supra, cap. 8. The ablative of the cause = ob cladem acceptam.

affinibus, lit. neighbours, from 'ad' and 'finis.' In the Digest the 'affines' are relatives by marriage; e. g. 'socer,' 'gener,' 'nurus,' &c., distinguished from 'consanguinei.'

exsequendi = of satisfying.

§ 6. **causam conferant**, 'lay the blame.'

§ 7. The construction here, accus. and infin., is still the Oratio Obliqua, part of the allegation of the tribunes: **eam rem** = the defeat was brought about by agreement and general collusion of the patricians.

§ 9. **commodis.** E. g. the question of usury, the claims of plebeians to the office of tribunus militum or consul, &c., which occur in this and the succeeding book.

frequentia . . . actiones, 'repeat, push on their proposals before crowded audiences in the city.' 'Celebro' in this sense = to practise constantly or frequently. Cp. 6. 52. 1 'celebrari de integro iurisdictio.' 'Actio' is used, (1) of duties generally, official duties; (2) of special suits or proceedings. Cp. 4. 55 'nulla erat consularis actio,' and infra, 49. 8 'tribunis rem intentius agentibus;' 29. 1 'tribunorum actiones.'

conspiratio. Frequently used in a good sense, with 'consensus,' by Cicero.

§ 10. **Praeiudicium.** 'Sentence was already passed.'

§ 11. **stare.** Cp. Aen. 1. 268 'dum res stetit Ilia regno;' 2. 55 'Troiaque nunc staret.'

§ 12. **confossos.** This metaphorical use of 'confodio' is rare.

defunctos = that they were quite safe, out of danger. Ter. Eun. prologue 'defunctus iam sum.'

privati, retired from office two months before their time.

§ 13. **sibi**, dative after 'ereptam esse.'

§ 14. **repeterent**, imper. Oratio Obliqua. 'Let the men of Rome recall the feelings.'

cum pavore. The preposition is necessary, because otherwise the ablative of the substantive would not be used without a qualifying adjective: it is also emphatic, 'in utter panic.'

§ 15. **caput.** The word is used in imprecations and adjurations. Aen. 4. 357 'Testor utrumque caput.'

§ 16. 'It was (they said) absolutely inconsistent not to exercise their own power, when lawful and right, in dealing with men upon whom every one had invoked the anger of the gods.'

admovere manus, 'lay hands upon.'

Chap. 12. § 1. **aeris gravis**, 'money of full weight,' in which the As = one pound, about 8*d*. of our money. Its weight was reduced first to four ounces, and then in the First Punic War it sunk to two, and in the Second Punic War, having sunk still further, was fixed at one ounce (B.C. 217). Finally, by the lex Papiria of 89 B.C. it was reduced to half an ounce.

Mars communis = the fortune and chances of war. Cp. 'aequo Marte,' 'pari Marte,' 'verso Marte,' 'incerto Marte,' 'Mars anceps.'

§ 3. **praesentem**, 'immediate.' 'Praesens pecunia' = cash payment.

legem agrariam. First in Livy 2. 41.

§ 4. **quum**, 'since.' 'Ita prospere' is obviously ironical — 'with such success that in no case were their hopes realised.'

§ 5. **actae.** The original meaning of the word, 'driven,' shows the kind of plunder usually taken, that is, cattle: just as the derivation of 'pecunia' from 'pecus' points to the fact that the earliest form of wealth consisted in cattle.

§ 6. **postquam . . . erat**, 'when they found assault useless.'

provincia. The word has been variously derived as a contraction from 'providentia,' 'pro-noventia' (cf. 'nuntius' = the charge assigned to a delegate), and from 'pro-vincere.' 'It is not certain what was the original meaning, but it is used generally of a magistrate's 'sphere of duty,' and especially, as here, of a command in war outside the city. Later it was applied to a conquered territory and its administration.

§ 7. **maiore mole**, 'more imposing proportions.' After 'quam' there is an ellipse, 'than (those in which) the wars were being conducted.'

per, 'owing to.'

§ 8. **illud tempus**, 'the time,' i.e. that of which they had always spoken.

§ 9. **usurpandi iuris** = for the sake of making a precedent, exercieing, claiming the right.

§ 11. **vetus senator.** It is worth notice that a plebeian could be a senator: the social distinction between 'patres' and 'plebs,' chiefly maintained by the denial of the 'ius connubii' before the tribunate of Canuleius (4. 2, &c.), had been used to exclude them from the chief official posts. But after a share in the consulship was secured to the *plebs* by the Licinian laws, 367 B.C., a new conception of nobility arose founded on tenure of office, without regard to patrician birth. Hence in later history, though the patricians retain certain honorary privileges, many plebeian families rank quite as high, and long descent was as highly valued among the one as the other. Tac. Ann. 6. 14 a grandniece of Tiberius, daughter of Germanicus, married L. Cassius, 'plebeii generis, verum antiqui honoratique.'

§ 12. **nec satis constat** = and no good reason is given, it is not really clear.

Chap. 12.

potissimus = in preference to all others, above all others.

delibandum, cp. Tac. Ann. 6. 20 'degustabis imperium.'

fratris, probably 'cousin,' or, as perhaps in 28. 35, 'brother-in-law.' Cn. Cornelius Cossus, a patrician, could not be own brother to P. Licinius Calvus.

§ 13. **quod . . . remiserunt**, 'they ceased to oppose the war-tax, the chief question that obstructed (hampered) the government.'

Chap. 13.

§ 1. **annona**. By transference from the sense of 'yearly supply' (of corn), the word means 'the price of corn.'

ex = in consequence of: 'because supplies had been previously stored up.'

§ 2. **haud tumultuose**, i. e. without any disturbance, peacefully.

§ 3. **centuriae**. Because elected at the Comitia Centuriata.

dixere, 'of the people electing officials,' e.g. 26. 22 'eosdem consules se dicturos esse. Claudium et Valerium consules dixerunt.'

§ 4. **intemperie caeli**. Cp. Virg. Aen. 3. 137:—

> 'Subito quum tabida membris,
> Corrupto caeli tractu, miserandaque venit
> Arboribusque satisque lues, et letifer annus.'

in contrarium = from cold to heat.

§ 5. **libri Sibyllini**. The legend of these books is told in various passages of Latin literature. This Sibyl was said to have brought her books to Tarquinius Superbus. Gell. 1. 19. These books, which were under the care of the *duumviri sacrorum*, cp. 3. 10. 7, were consulted on occasions of extraordinary prodigies for which the pontifical books supplied no means of expiation.

§ 6. **sacris faciundis**: dative, the common construction after such words as 'commissioners;' for the purpose of. Cp. 'Coloniae deducendae decemviri.' Cp. 3. 10. 7.

lectisternio. The images of the gods were set on couches in the streets and food of all kinds set before them: 'lecti sternebantur in honorem deorum' (Augustine, De Civitate Dei). The couches were called 'pulvinaria.' It is explained at the end of the section, 'tribus stratis lectis.'

apparari, 'for magnificence and display.' Cp. 27. 6. 15 'ludos pro temporis huius copia magnifici apparatus fecerunt.'

§ 7. **ianuis**, i. e. 'of houses.'

in propatulo, 'in the open air;' here it means in the *atrium* of the house.

ferunt, 'they (the chroniclers) tell.'

tempero. Takes dative = 'to govern,' 'restrain;' and simple abl. or abl. with 'a,' 'ab,' 'to refrain from.'

Chap. 13. § 8. **religioni fuisse**: lit. 'it was for a conscientious scruple;' there was a feeling that it would be wrong,' 'it was considered wrong.'

§ 10. **cessatum fuerat**, 'hesitation had been shown.'

§ 11. **avertit** (as constantly) = routed, defeated.

§ 12. The ordinary reading is **iam palantes veluti forte oblati**, where 'iam palantes' goes with 'reliquias pugnae;' but 'veluti' is quite superfluous.

§ 13. **dum**, almost = for.

exclusere, i. e. 'the townsmen shut out their countrymen.'

Chap. 14. § 1. **quippe**, with 'cernentibus' = 'quippe qui cernerent.' It is like ὡς, ἅτε, with participle.

amissum: 13. 3, only one patrician was elected, and five plebeians.

§ 2. **petendum**: the general word for a 'candidatus.' Cp. Hor. Odes 3. 1. 11 'descendat in Campum petitor.'

quos . . . crederent. Subjunctive after relative expressing character, 'men whom,' 'such as they thought the people would be ashamed to pass by.'

candidati, because they wore a white toga. Cp. Pers. 5. 177:—

'Quem ducit hiantem Cretata ambitio;'

and the jest hinted at by Cic. pro Planc. 34 'admonuisti, quod in Creta fuisses, dictum aliquod in petitione tua dici potuisse.'

exciebant, 'brought to their aid.'

in religionem, i. e. working on their religious feelings by (alluding to) the election held two years previously.

§ 3. **prodigium**, for 'prodicium,' 'pro-dicere' = something foretold.

sed iam = but now actual realities, real occurrences.

§ 4. **fatalibus**, here in general sense including the Sibylline books, from which they are distinguished in 22. 57. 6; 'the books of destiny,' 'fateful.' Cp. 'fatalia responsa deorum,' Virg. Aen. 9. 133.

auspicato. Similar adverbs, ablat. of participle, are 'subito,' 'necopinato,' 'ex improviso,' 'merito,' &c.

gentium. The 'gens' is a group of families united by a common name and common religious rites. The name of the 'gens' is the 'nomen' of each individual member; e. g. Fabius, Iulius, Cornelius. For the argument compare the denunciations in 4. 2. of the consuls against the proposal to grant rights of 'connubium' between 'patres' and 'plebs,' and infra 52. 3, 4.

§ 5. **pars magna**, 'pars' being the regular Latin word for 'fraction,' a large fraction almost invariably means 'more than half.'

honoratissimum quemque, 'men of the highest eminence.' The word is specially used of men who have become eminent by office (*honores*).

§ 1. **singuli**, i.e. only individuals vouched for them. **Chap. 15.**

hostibus Etruscis, ablat. absol., giving the reason.

procuro. A special term for expiating or averting by sacrifice, &c. any offence against the gods, or any ill omens. Cic. de Divinatione, and frequent in Livy.

haruspex, lit. entrail-inspecting. The Sanskrit is 'hirá,' Greek. *χολάδες, χορδή*. Cp. 'hariolus,' 'hariolor' (Curtius). When the Roman priests failed to find means of expiation for prodigies in the pontifical or Sibylline books, *haruspices* were called in from Etruria.

§ 2. **quae . . . eximeret**, 'which could take the occurrence out of the region of miracles,' 'disprove its miraculous character.'

§ 3. **sciscitatum**, supine. Cp. praedatum, 16. 3.

oratores, lit. 'speakers,' 'envoys.' Virg. Aen. 7. 153:—

'Centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis Ire iubet.'

In 1. 56 Tarquinius Superbus is said to have sent to Delphi ('maxime inclitum in terris oraculum') to inquire into the cause of a 'domesticum prodigium:' 'ad publica prodigia Etrusci tantum vates adhibebantur.' So, according to Livy, ambassadors had been sent to Athens and other parts of Greece to investigate the various systems of law (3. 31) before the passing of the XII Tables.

§ 4. **propior**, 'nearer home.'

fatis, 'by the fates,' 'by destiny.'

§ 5. **temere iactum**, 'a meaningless utterance,' infra, 'per ambages iaceret.' The whole sentence is worth study, as a model of complex writing. Cp. 32. 8, 9; 40. 9, 10.

sermonibus, 'in conversation.'

§ 6. **causatus**, 'alleging (giving as his reason) that he wished to ask his advice.'

si operae, 'if he had leisure.' Cf. 4. 8. 3, a popular expression used chiefly by Plautus and Livy, lit. *operae est* = 'it is worth while.'

§ 7. **raptum transtulit.** A very common Latin construction, in order to avoid the collocation of co-ordinate sentences joined by 'et.' One out of many instances may be quoted from Virg. Aen. 1. 29 'iactatos Troas Arcebat Latio.'

§ 9. **eam mentem.** We should say 'had put it into his mind;' lit. 'mens' here = idea.

excidium, 'to disclose the fate-ordained destruction of his country.'

§ 10. **revocare.** Oratio Obliqua, 'he could not recall them so that they should be unsaid, and perhaps equal sin was incurred by withholding what the gods willed should be known, as by uttering their secrets.' Cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 18. 71 'volat irrevocabile verbum,' and the Greek *ἄρρητα φωνεῖν*.

§ 12. **Exsequebatur**, 'he detailed.'

Chap. 15. § 12. **derivatio**, 'de' and 'rivus,' drawing from its course or stream.

sortes. Virg. Aen. 6. 72 'tuas sortes arcanaque fata,' of the Sibyl.

Chap. 16. § 1. **Priusquam.** When this conjunction and 'antequam' are used with subj. (except in Oratio Obliqua) there is generally some notion of purpose; but not always. See Roby, Lat. Gr. 1674. Simple time is not expressed by the subjunctive, if we except 'quum' with plupf. subj. for 'after that,' and an occasional use of 'quum' with impf. subj.

§ 2. **multis bellis.** The ablatives all depend upon 'occupatos.'

§ 3. **cohortes expeditas** = a flying column, i.e. without 'impedimenta;' 'light-armed' hardly conveys the exact meaning.

eoque, and 'therefore too weak (to stop them)—.'

§ 4. **indignitas**, 'indignation,' as it is joined with 'cura,' each expressing a feeling in the Romans; cp. 45. 6 'indignitas atque ex ea ira animos cepit.' In 48. 9 'rei foedissimae per se, adiecta indignitas est' = insulting treatment.

populationis, obj. gen. = anxiety about.

§ 5. **non iusto** is explained by 'voluntariorum.'

obliquis tramitibus: cp. 2. 39. 3 'transversis tramitibus.' Tarquinii was situated to the N. W. of Rome, about fifty miles distant, on the river Marta.

§ 6. **impedimentis.** As the troops consisted of 'expeditae cohortes,' § 3, the 'impedimenta' ought to mean the plunder, &c. which they now had with them.

§ 7. **dominis**, 'the owners.' The term 'dominium' in Roman law signifies the exact right of ownership which, in the case of 'res mancipi,' could be possessed by a Roman citizen, and in the strict legal sense by no one else. But by 'usucapio' prescriptive rights could be acquired even by a stranger, and the praetor's equitable jurisdiction would prevent his being dispossessed of his property. Until the time of Justinian, undisputed possession for one year of moveables and for two years of immoveables gave an indefeasible title.

sub hasta, 'by public auction.' The spear was a sign of booty gained in battle or of the authority of the magistrates.

redactum. Hor. Epodes 2. 69 'Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam,' of the money-lender getting in his loans, cp. 19, § 8. *Re* in compounds often states a result, or implies that an act is duly done, cp. reddo, renuntio.

§ 9. **cave . . . sinas** = beware to allow, i.e. do not allow.

dissipatam rivis. Cp. Hdt. 1. 189, where Cyrus has the river Gyndes diverted into 360 small channels, because one of the sacred horses had been lost in it.

§ 10. **victoriam ex**, 'remembering that victory is granted you, by the destiny now revealed, over the city which,' &c. 'Victoria de' and

'ab' are also found: 4. 6. 5 'Quum Canuleius victoria de patribus ingens esset;' Cic. pro Leg. Man. 3 'ab illo insignia victoriae reportare.' **Chap. 16.**

§ 11. **donum**: infra 25. 10, a golden drinking-bowl was sent, and, as told in chap. 28, the ship of war that conveyed it was captured by pirates from the Lipari islands, but subsequently released.

instaurata, 'renewed,' 'repeated.' The word is constantly used to describe the repetition of a solemn act which has been interrupted, or the due performance of a ceremony not rightly observed. In Aen. 4. 63 'instauratque diem donis,' Virgil, as usual, carries the meaning a little further, and indeed transfers its sense in his favourite manner; but the examples quoted from his poems all retain the notion of repetition.

§ 1. **ingens**, cp. 4. 6. 5 'quum Canuleius victoria de patribus et plebis favore ingens esset.' **Chap. 17.**

§ 2. **ubi** = in what point, in what particular.

vitio creatos, 'because informally elected,' causal participle.

Latinas, i. e. the Latin festival. The 'Feriae Latinae' were yearly celebrated to Jupiter Latiaris, with games in Rome, cp. 19, § 1, and a solemn sacrifice on the Alban Mountain. Since Rome became head of the Latin League the sacrifice was presided over by her chief magistrate.

sacrum in monte Albano, 1. 31 'feriae per novem dies.'

concepisse. There were three kinds of festivals among the Romans: 'stativae,' regularly recurring on fixed days; 'conceptivae,' moveable feasts, the date of which was fixed afresh each year; and 'imperativae,' extraordinary, ordered to celebrate some special event.

§ 3. **auspicia.** As *imperium* is the technical term for the power, civil and military, of the magistrate, so *auspicium* expresses his relation to the gods. They are two sides of the same thing. The *auspicia maxima* only belong to the highest magistrates; interrex, consul, praetor, officers of consular or praetorian power. If there was any defect or informality in the position of the magistrate, the auspices had to be renewed by reference to the patrician Senate (*patres*) who appointed an interrex.

interregnum. The first instance is after the death of Romulus, 1. 17, when the 'patres' divided the power among themselves, forming 'decuriae,' and each holding office for five days.

§ 6. **ad fanum Voltumnae.** A similar meeting had been held just before the beginning of the war with Veii, 4. 61. Cp. 4. 23. 25. Voltumna was the tutelary goddess of the Etruscans, cp. 6. 2. 2.

§ 7. **quia**, &c.: 'because the Veientians ought not to ask for help from those from whom they had not asked advice with regard to so important a step.'

fortunam, 'their own position refused it to the Veientians' (= 'illis').

§ 8. **satis fida**, 'really secure.'

Chap. 17. § 8. **sit.** As often, Livy makes the Oratio Obliqua less dull by his use of present instead of past tenses; 'eant,' 'impediant.'

§ 9. **id**, anticipating and explained by the succeeding clause. So **eum** in the next sentence is emphatic: 'the report at Rome was that the number of the enemy which came *under these conditions* was large.'

Chap. 18. § 1. **praerogativa**, sc. 'centuria.' In the voting at the Comitia the unit taken was the 'centuria,' or 'tribus.' If a candidate obtained a bare majority in eighteen tribes—the full number being thirty-five—no account was taken of the numerical majority of individual votes which might be against him in the other seventeen. The word 'praerogativa' signifies the tribe or century which was first called upon to record its vote. In the early days of the *Comitia Centuriata* the centuries of Equites voted first (Liv. 1. 43. 11), and as late as 296 B.C. this arrangement seems to have prevailed (Liv. 10. 22. 1). It was not till this assembly was modified on a tribal basis that a *praerogativa centuria* was chosen by lot. Livy here anticipates the later arrangement. (See Madvig, *Die Verfassung und Verwaltung des Römischen Staats*, Kap. ii. § 8.) Compare the phrases, 'rogare legem,' 'rogare populum.'

non petentem, 'though not a candidate.'

moderationis. The genitive of quality is usually confined to persons, the ablative being used to express the quality of things.

§ 2. **collegio eiusdem anni.** It is implied that the arrangement entered into, supra 17. 5, had resulted in the election of these tribunes, here first named, in the place of those who had resigned 'vitio creati.'

renuntio. The special word of announcing to the people the result of an election, either by the 'praeco' or by the presiding magistrate. Also used of the report made by the official who observed the omens. Cic. Div. 2. 35 'nunc imperant pullario; ille renuntiat.' The opposite was 'obnuntio,' to announce some bad omens which would stop business.

§ 3. **rei**, 'feeling,' 'condition.'

§ 4. **umbram nomenque.** Cp. Cic. Att. 5. 15 'me nomen habere duarum legionum exilium,' and Plaut. Mil. 3. 1. 31:—

'Umbra es amantum magis quam amator.'

§ 5. **antea**; supra 12. 9.

vicarium, from 'vicis.' 'Vicarius servus,' was an under-slave kept by another slave.

do dicoque. A formula for solemn dedication.

ultro, i. e. non petenti, 'unasked.' *ultro*, lit. 'beyond,' implies that an act goes beyond what is required or expected. Its exact force will depend on the context. See Index.

§ 7. **praecipito.** Used as active and neuter verb. Virg. Aen. 4. 565:—

'Non fugis hinc praeceps dum praecipitare potestas?'

Ib. 2. 317, 18:—'Furor iraque mentem Praecipitant.'

§ 9. **quae**, probably refers to 'ignominia.' 'The actual loss was much less than the disgrace; but it almost resulted in a serious disaster; for very serious alarm was caused by it' ('inde'). The Latin language frequently uses the adjectives of proportion, 'tot,' 'tantus,' &c., where we should employ a strong form of superlative. **Chap. 18.**

§ 11. **His tumultuosiora**, 'a still more alarming report.'

partem, 'half.'

agmine infesto, 'to attack.'

matrona: as distinct from 'materfamilias,' the former means 'a married woman' in general; whereas the latter indicates one who is 'in manu' legally under the power of her husband, or of the person in whose 'potestas' the husband himself is.

publicus pavor, 'the general alarm,' 'the danger to the state.'

Veios, 'to Veii.'

§ 1. **Iam ex lacu**, &c. The outlet from the lake still exists, and is called *il rivo Albano*. It is a tunnel through tufa rock leading into a vault, from which five channels carry away the water. **Chap. 19.**

appetebant, 'were drawing nigh.'

§ 2. **fatalis**, 'chosen by destiny,' 'destined.' It is the equivalent of *εἱμαρμένος*, and in the ante-Augustan period is rarely used as synonymous for 'letalis,' deadly, fatal.

servandae: dative, expressing the purpose, for which 'ad excidium' has just been used. Cp. supra 13. 6.

The appointment of a dictator at this crisis, or when any special work was to be done, shows an elasticity in the official arrangements at Rome. It was impossible that with annual magistrates, such as consuls or military tribunes, the best men should always be chosen. Theoretically, the various officials and magistrates could produce a deadlock in public business, if they were in conflict; but on the whole, the system was not without singular merits.

§ 4. **alia**, 'altered,' 'changed,' 'different.'

animadvertere. In the sense of 'punish,' with '*in* aliquem.'

illo pavore; 18. 9 'aegre miles retentus a fuga' = the late panic.

more militari. The military punishment, e.g. for desertion, was the 'fustuarium,' a cudgelling to death, Cic. Phil. 3. 6. 14 'fustuarium meruerunt legiones, quae consulem reliquerunt.' Infra 47. 10, a soldier was thrown down from the Capitoline hill during the siege by the Gauls.

intercurrit, 'goes off in the interval to Veii.'

§ 6. **Mater Matuta**; cp. 6. 33. 4, 7. 27. 8. She was the goddess of morning light, worshipped in many towns of Italy and especially in Etruria; later identified with the Greek goddess Leucothea (Ino). Her temple at Rome, built by Servius, was in the *Forum Boarium*.

Chap. 19. § 7. **exspectatione**, 'excitement.'

§ 8. **fortuna.** Cp. the proverbs 'fortuna fortes (adiuvat),' Cic. Fin. 3. 4. 16; Virg. Aen. 10. 284 'audentes fortuna iuvat.'

castris exuit. So armis, copiis, agro, patrimonio, sedibus, bonis, exuere are used.

quaestores. The official quaestors took charge of the 'aerarium' or public treasury, of the revenues and expenditure, of the standards that were kept in the treasury; cp. 7. 23 'iussit signa ex aerario quaestores deferre.' The quaestors, who were attached to a consul or governor of a province in later times, acted as treasurers to the provincial troops, collected taxes, and arranged for the pay and commissariat of the troops.

§ 9. **procursationibus**, 'skirmishes.'

iniussu. The substantive is only used thus, in the ablative, as an adverb.

§ 10. **cuniculus.** The Cloaca maxima at Rome, the outlet of the Alban Lake, and the tombs of Etruria show that tunneling was not beyond the resources of the time, but the position of Veii on a high rock makes this mode of attack improbable (Weiss.).

§ 11. **munitorum numerum**, together.

in orbem = in rotation.

Chap. 20. § 1. **capi** = was on the point of being captured.

§ 2. **ne quam . . . caperet**, 'to escape.'

malignitate. Cp. 22. 1 = from niggardliness in apportioning the spoil.

§ 3. **iam** = mox.

quid censerent. The Oratio Obliqua of question in the 2nd person. 'What,' he asked, 'do you propose?'

§ 4. **interrogatum.** The consul (here the 'tribunus militum') called upon those who were to speak first at a debate in the senate, usually upon the senator of highest rank or importance. The 'princeps senatus' was the first senator on the censor's list, Livy 34. 44. It is strange that Licinius, a plebeian, should have been called upon first.

edici palam placere; *edici* depends on *dixisse*, and *placere* on *edici*. 'He proposed that a public proclamation be made that the people resolve,' &c.

§ 5. **novam**, &c.; 'unconstitutional, extravagant, unfair, and ill-advised.'

auctor erat = censebat, 'proposed.'

numerandi: supra 7. 12 'numerus aeris.'

§ 6. **non avidas**, &c.; 'and that the hands of idle townsfolk, greedy of plunder, would not steal the rewards of brave soldiers.'

ut quisque, &c. Expressing proportion, 'the readier a man is

to take his share of danger and peril, the more indifferent he is to plunder.' **Chap. 20.**

§ 7. **criminum**, &c., of prosecutions, agitation, and revolutionary proposals.

§ 8. **succurri**; impersonal, 'that help be given.'

id . . . quod, 'anything which.'

§ 9. **rejectam** (cp. 22, § 1), like the Gk. *ἀναφέρειν εἰς*, is used of referring a question to another person and so shifting the responsibility.

fugere, 'wished to avoid;' supra § 2.

§ 10. **popularis**, in the same sense 7. 33 'quo nihil popularius est.'

quibus videretur, like *δοκεῖν*, 'whoever might think fit.'

§ 2. **numen.** Here 'the expression of the divine will,' 'direction,' 'bidding.' **Chap. 21.**

hinc, 'therefore,' 'on this account.' This is better than to take it = Veiorum, a tenth of the plunder out of this city.

§ 3. **colis.** Also used of the correlative, the respect or worship paid by men to gods; e.g. 22. 3. Iuno, according to all the legends, was the ancestral enemy of Troy, and of the early Romans as descendants of the Trojans. See the Aeneid, *passim*.

amplitudo, 'majesty.'

§ 4. **superante multitudine**, 'with overwhelming numbers.'

§ 5. **iam in partem.** 'That some of the gods had been invited to share the spoil, others summoned by prayers from their city were looking to a new home in the temples of the enemy.' Cf. Aen. 3. 222:—

'Ipsumque vocamus
In partem praedamque Iovem.'

ultimum. Virg. Aen. 2. 248 'quibus ultimus esset Ille dies.'

§ 6. **pro se quisque**, 'one and all.' The phrase expresses individual action, which is also brought out by *dis*currunt.

§ 7. **quidnam id . . .**, 'what was the reason why?'

§ 8. **immolo**, from 'mola,' originally to sprinkle (a victim) with the salt cake, 'mola salsa.'

vocem . . . exauditam . . . movisse, go together.

proseco, 'to cut off' (the parts to be sacrificed).

dari, graphic present, like 'capi,' supra 20. 1.

§ 9. **satis habeam**, 'I shall be satisfied.' The pres. subj. comes very near in sense to the future indic. in this use. The criticisms here passed by Livy may be compared with what he says in his preface to the history.

haec ad, &c. Cp. Livy's Preface 6 'poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis.' 'This which is better fitted to figure on a stage that loves the marvellous than to gain credence.'

neque affirmare, &c. Preface 7.

Chap. 21. § 10. **edidit.** Cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 259:—

'Illos patefactus ad auras
Reddit equus.'

aversos, i.e. in the rear, because they were on the walls, not attending to what was happening behind them.

servitiis. The abstract word both in singular and plural is used for the concrete 'slaves.'

§ 11. Shouts rend the air, the cries of attack and the shrieks of dismay, blended with the wailing of women and children;' cp. 21. 25. 13 'Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi fuit Romanis.'

§ 12. **momento.** Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 7:—

'horae
Momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta.'

§ 13. **senescit pugna**, 'the fighting flags.'

§ 14. **aliquantum maior**, 'considerably larger than he expected or thought.' So 'aliquoties' usually implies some large number, not so indefinite as our 'some.'

rerum, 'consisting of objects of greater value.' It is a sort of genitive of material, dependent on *praeda*.

§ 15. **ut**, repeated **ut . . . liceret.**

eam invidiam, we might say 'to remove the danger.' Compare the story of Polycrates of Samos and Hdt. 7. 46 ὁ θεὸς φθονερὸς εὑρίσκεται ἐών, and 1. 32 τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες. *Eam* invidiam is almost = eius invidiam; see Excursus, p. 26.

§ 16. **pertinuisse . . . ad**, 'appeared, to those who afterwards drew inferences from what occurred, to have signified.'

Chap. 22. § 1. **sub corona**—as slaves, because they were crowned with chaplets. Cp. Juv. 1. 111 'pedibus qui venerat albis;' i.e. with chalked feet, to stand on the 'catasta' when exposed for sale into slavery.

duci . . . senatui . . . Liciniae familiae. The datives depend on 'acceptum referebant'—thye ascribed. Lit. 'put it down (in an account) as received to the credit of.'

malignitatis, &c., as he wanted some authority for his niggardly act, 'making them the agents of his meanness.'

rem arbitrii sui, 'a matter under his own control.'

§ 4. **lautis**, from lavo, = lavatis.

candida veste, common to festivals and religious ceremonies in all ages. We may contrast the common practice at Rome of the wearing of 'sordida vestis' by a 'reus,' so frequent in Cicero's speeches. Cp. Livy 3. 47 'Virginius sordidatus filiam secum obsoleta veste . . . deducit.'

deportanda, 'the duty of conveying.'

admoventes manus, 'laying hands upon.'

§ 5. **quod . . . solitus.** The sentence is elliptical = no one except.

If **nisi non** be translated 'only,' the brevity can be preserved: 'because according to Etruscan rites only a priest of a special family was accustomed to touch this statue.' **Chap. 22.**

§ 6. **velle**, sc. se, the subject of the infinitive is frequently omitted in Livy, see Excursus.

parvi molimenti, 'with machines of slight power.'

accepimus, 'we have heard,' 'the story runs.' Livy does not repeat these legends as a rule without some criticism. The means of investigating the early annals of Roman history were scarcely within his reach; and he prefers to give the legendary tales with such facts as were authentic, writing rather in poetical than strictly historical manner. Still, the charge of carelessness and absence of critical faculty is levelled with better grounds against some parts of his subsequent work e. g. Book 21 and the route of Hannibal than against his account of this early period.

tralatu, supine of **transfero**. The substantive is post-Augustan.

§ 7. **vota**, 21. 3.

§ 8. **occasus**, 'downfall.'

vel ultima, 'even in its final ruin.'

continuas, 'in succession,' 'consecutively.'

aliquanto plus, 'considerably more,' 21. 14.

urgente, 'when destiny doomed it.' Cp. 36. 6 'urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis.' Cp. Aen. 2. 653 'fatoque urgenti incumbere.'

operibus non vi. 'Approach and assault' are terms used by Clarendon in his History; 'by skill and not by storm.' 'Opera' refers to the 'cuniculus.'

§ 1. **notae**, 'known,' as though the knowledge that its fall was prophesied had not removed all doubt even from believing minds. **Chap. 23.**

res, 'the issue.' The sentence 'quantum . . . potuerat res' is explained by what follows, the selection of Camillus as general.

§ 2. **velut ex insperato**, 'as though it were unhoped for.'

§ 3. **matrum.** Cp. 18. 11.

in quatriduum, 'for four days.'

quot dierum. The genitive is, as it were, in apposition to an antecedent in 'IV dierum spatium.'

supplicationes. Generally of thanksgiving for victory; but cp. 10. 23. 1 'prodigia, quorum averruncandorum causa supplicationes in biduum senatus decrevit:' and sometimes in honour of a successful general: and on this analogy Cic. Sull. 30. 85 'Cui uni togato supplicationem senatus decrevit.'

§ 4. **celebratior.** Lit. 'attended by greater crowds,' 'more highly distinguished.'

diei illius, 'the day of rejoicing.'

Chap. 23. § 5. **Maximo conspectus**, 'the principal object,' 'all eyes turned to.'

ipse, emphatic. Cp. Juv. 1. 61, 62 'nam lora tenebat Ipse.'

invectus, 'riding.'

parum civile, 'scarcely like a citizen,' i.e. 'not only too great for a citizen.' Cp. 3, § 9.

§ 6. **in religionem**, 'men thought it sacrilege that the dictator was put on a level with . . .' 'Equis' is dative, but strictly Camillus was put on a level with Jupiter and Sol by having white horses.

clarior quam gratior, 'more distinguished than pleasing,' 'rather grand than satisfactory.'

§ 7. **templum locavit**; sc. 'exstruendum,' 'he contracted for.'

Matutae Matris. Supply 'templum.'

§ 8. **Apollinis.** Objective gen. Cp. 'donum exitiale Minervae,' Virg. Aen. 2. 31.

pontifices, 'and the priests decreed that the people must fulfil the obligation:' lit. 'be freed from the religious duty' by fulfilling it. Cp. the next section, 'whoever wished himself and his house to fulfil their duty.'

§ 9. **ratio iubendi**, 'a means of calling upon.'

§ 10. **eo . . . decursum est**, 'they came down to that which.'

in publicum, i.e. 'aerarium.'

§ 11. **dignum**, 'worthy of the grandeur of the temple and the greatness of the god, and befitting the honour of the Roman nation.'

Chap. 24. § 2. **felix**, 'fruit-bearing.' Cp. 'rami feliciores,' Hor.; 'silvae felices,' Virg.; 'arbusta,' Lucr.

§ 4. **seditio**, 'agitation.'

quo; lit. 'whither;' = for which 3000 citizens were to be registered.

septunces. Fractions are often thus expressed by making use of the divisions of the 'As,' the one standard in weights and measures. Cp. the phrase 'heres ex besse, ex dodrante' = heir to two-thirds, heir to three-fourths.

§ 5. **spei.** The genitive explains 'solatium,' 'an offer to get rid of higher aims.' Cp. 3, § 5.

relegari. 'Relegatio' is the term for one form of banishment, in which a person was sent only to a certain distance from Rome, and did not suffer any real 'capitis deminutio,' as in 'deportatio' and 'exsilium.'

§ 7. **actio**; 29. 1 and supra 11. 9.

utique, lit. 'in whatever way;' hence means 'in any case,' 'certainly,' &c., its exact force depending on the word which it emphasises. For its use in Livy, see Index.

celebratior, 'more constantly proposed,' see 50. 8, and the speech of Camillus that follows. **Chap. 24.**

§ 9. **optimates.** 'When the aristocracy opposed this strongly, declaring that they would rather die than allow any such motion to be carried.'

quum. The change into Oratio Obliqua breaks the consecutiveness, and the conjunction used in this protasis is taken up again in 25. 1. For the language cp. 4. 2. 8 'se milliens morituros potius quam ut tantum dedecoris admitti patiantur.'

optimates. Synonyms are 'proceres,' 'primores,' in this general sense. Cic. pro Sest. 96 defines the word in the sense which he applied to it, 'qui ita se gerebant, ut sua consilia optimo cuique probarent, optimates habebantur . . . sunt principes publici consilii, sunt qui eorum sectam sequuntur.' In Livy it is equivalent to 'patricians.'

quam . . . rogaretur. Elliptical for 'quam ut paterentur rogari.'

§ 10. **victamne ut** ('potuitne fieri ut'), 'could it possibly be that.' For this indignant 'ut' cp. 4. 2. 12.

§ 11. **lator**, both of the proposer and the person who carried a law. Cp. 25. 13 'tribunos latores legis.'

parente. As in Preface 7 'quum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferant.' Cp. Juv. 8. 244:—

'Roma parentem,
Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.'

§ 2. **manibus temperare**, 'to refrain from violence.' **Chap. 25.**

rixae committendae. On the analogy of proelium committere, conserere, 'in order to begin the rioting.'

primi, adverbially.

§ 3. **violandis**, 'from outraging men of their years and position and (official) distinction.'

dum, of contemporary action, with a suggestion of cause. Cp. supra 13. 13.

et ad, 'also,' 'further, in respect of all similar.'

§ 4. **identidem.** Curtius derives from 'idem, ti (ἔτι) dem' (dies).

damnata voti, 'condemned to its vow,' 'bound to fulfil its vow.' Cp. Virg. Aen. 5. 237 'voti reus,' and 'damnare captitis, mortis,' &c.

§ 5. **stipis**; connected with 'stipo,' i.e. 'a gift *collected* in small coin' = an alms.

ea, 'in respect of it' ('collatio').

§ 6. **conscientiam.** Usually with 'sceleris,' 'culpae,' &c. = consciousness of guilt, and almost equivalent to 'conscience.'

rerum moventium. In legal phrase 'res mobiles.'

Chap. 25. § 7. **ea disceptatio**, 'the discussion about it.' Cp. supra 21. 15.

quod eius, &c.; 'such part of it had belonged to the Veientians before the vow was made.' 'ejus' refers to 'urbis atque agri capti.'

§ 8. **prompta**, 'was provided,' 'brought out.'

cuius, i. e. 'of gold.'

decreto = resolution.

§ 9. **ut quae maxime**, 'more than any other.' Elliptical for 'tam grata quam,' 'as pleasing as the one which was most.' Cp. 7. 33. 5.

pilentum. Also used for carrying sacred vessels, images, &c.. Virg. Aen. 8. 666:—

'ducebant sacra per urbem
Pilentis matres in mollibus.'

profestus (cf. 'pro-fanus'), 'not sacred,' 'working-day.'

§ 10. **pecuniae**, 'that the price might be paid.'

§ 11. **Simul**, for 'simul ac,' § 13 infra.

animos remiserunt, 'they ceased to think.'

§ 12. **ultro se offerrent**, 'openly faced.' For *ultro* see Index.

§ 13. **eosdem reficiunt.** Cp. 6. 42. 2 'Refecti decimum iidem tribuni.' The law is that referred to in 24. 7.

Chap. 26. § 1. **summa ope**, 'by exerting all their strength.'

sed. Strongly adversative to 'simulabant,' 'but their real purpose was,' &c.

largitioni. Generally used of undue or illegal grants. Cic. Off. 2. 52 'largitio fontem ipsum benignitatis exhaurit;' 55 'largitionem fundum non habere.' Still he allows that this species of liberality may be practised, provided it be done 'diligenter atque moderate.' 'The extravagant offers of the tribunes.'

§ 3. **donec . . . proficisceretur.** The subj. impf. shows that their object in keeping quiet was to wait till Camillus was gone: the connection is not merely temporal, but the one clause depends on the other.

differendo. This is the simplest use of the gerund, expressing the action of the verb without reference to any subject. This descriptive ablative is very frequent in Livy. See Excursus, p. 23; cp. 27. 2, &c.

§ 4. **progredi.** 'Prohibere' is used indifferently with 'ut,' 'ne,' 'quominus,' and object clause.

§ 5. **nulla re alia**, &c., 'believing it a safe position simply because of the difficulty of the approach.'

§ 6. **indidem** ('inde- idem'), 'from the same place.'

multa nocte = at dead of night. Cp. Tac. Hist. 4. 35 'velut multa pace.'

§ 7. **alius** = ὁ ἄλλος, 'the rest of.'

Chap. 26.

praelati, 'carried past,' 'prae' having the force of 'praeter.' Cp. 1. 45. 6 'praefluit.'

§ 8. **priusquam . . . inciderent**, 'before they could rush in.' For subj. cp. supra § 3.

redacta, 'paid in to.'

quaestores, who had charge of the treasury. supra 19. 8.

et oderant et mirabantur, 'they admired while they detested.'

§ 9. **per occasionem**, 'when an opportunity arose.'

neutro, 'to neither side.' On the analogy of 'eo,' 'quo.'

spe, 'success.'

ante; adverbially, 'from what had been previously stored up.'

§ 10. **specimen**, 'a proof.' Cp. 38. 58. 6 'Romanae fidei specimen illis gentibus dedissent.'

Chap. 27.

§ 1. **magistro et comite**. The παιδαγωγός in Greek; as in the Lysis of Plato, and frequently in the comedies of Plautus; e. g. Ludus in the Bacchides, Act 3. sc. 3.

demandabantur, 'were entrusted.' 'Commendo' is used in this sense by writers before Livy.

§ 2. **ante urbem**. Virg. Aen. 7. 162:—

'Ante urbem pueri et primaevo flore iuventus
Exercentur equis, domitantque in pulvere currus.'

nihil; adverbially, 'in no way.'

trahendo. The gerund is thus frequently used in the place of a pres. partic. It is not correct to say that the pres. part. act. is never used verbally as in Greek; but it does commonly retain a strict sense of present or simultaneous time, and therefore the gerund is often preferable.

ubi res, 'when opportunity allowed.'

praetorium, 'the general's quarters.' Cp. 7. 12. 14 'in principiis ac praetorio in unum sermones confundi.'

§ 3. **scelesto**, 'villainous.'

Falerii, the chief city of the Falisci.

§ 6. **pacto humano**, i. e. we have no definite treaty engagements with the Falisci: 'by actual treaty.' This antithesis of 'nature' and 'convention' (cf. φύσις . . . νόμος) runs through Roman legal theory. Cp. Maine, Ancient Law, p. 44, &c.

iuste, 'in a proper manner.'

§ 8. **vicisti**, 'you have done your best to defeat them by an unheard-of crime.' Cp. § 10 'de re nova.'

§ 10. **efferati**, 'in the fury of.'

Veientium exitum, 'an end like that of Veii than a peace like that of Capena.'

Chap. 27. § 10. **apud eos universa civitas** = 'ii omnes,' one and all unanimously.

§ 11. **foro, curia.** On the analogy of Rome, where the meetings of the people were in the former, of the senate in the latter place.

§ 12. **cui invideat,** 'which neither God nor man could envy.'

quo nihil; parenthetical, 'and this is the highest compliment to a conqueror.'

victuros, from 'vivo.'

§ 13. **praesentem,** 'immediate,' 'that was in your hands.'

fide provocati, 'challenged by your fair dealing.'

§ 14. **sub dicione.** Cp. 6. 29. 6.

§ 15. **fidei nostrae,** 'you shall never complain of our loyalty.'

stipendium. The same stipulation is imposed on the people of Vulsinii, infra 32. 5, as the condition of a twenty years' truce.

Chap. 28. § 1. **taciti eius.** There is a certain awkwardness in the genitive referring thus to Camillus, the subject of the sentence. For a somewhat similar change cp. infra § 8 'Postumius, quum . . . increparet, conclamat exercitus.' 'The senate could not brook his silent reproaches, but set immediately about the performance of his vow.'

§ 2. **longa una nave,** 'one ship of war.' The mention of a 'longa navis' seems to point to a late origin of the story.

piratis. The Lipari group of islands (Aen. 8. 417) lie to the north of Sicily and west of the extreme southern corner of Italy.

§ 3. **publico latrocinio.** For the old notion that piracy was no less honourable than other forms of taking what belongs to another see Thuc. 1. 5 οὐκ ἔχοντός πω αἰσχύνην τούτου τοῦ ἔργου, and the address of Nestor to Telemachus, Hom. Od. 3. 72–3, where it is put on a level with any ordinary business (πρῆξις).

Timasitheus, τιμή, θεός. The name suggests the legend.

§ 4. **veritus,** 'respecting.'

multitudo, 'the people generally.'

iustae, 'with a due sense of.'

§ 5. **in incerto . . . vicissent.** 'In incerto esse' is usually found without 'utrum.' Cp. Sall. Jug. 38. 5 'fugere an manere tutius foret, in incerto erat.'

hospitium. This grant of 'hospitium' to individuals or whole states meant that on coming to Rome they received entertainment and protection from the State.

§ 6. **placuit obtinere,** 'they arranged for Aemilius to occupy Verrugo with a garrison.'

§ 7. **negligentius.** For opposite conduct in war cp. Sall. Jug. 100 of

Marius 'neque victoria socors aut insolens factus . . . consul quasi nullo imposito omnia providere.' **Chap. 28.**

ab re: 'ab' expresses 'transition from,' with a notion of 'consequence.'

§ 8. **fateri admissum**, 'confess the crime they had committed,' 'the disgrace they had incurred.'

eosdem, 'with their own hands.'

§ 9. **nihil recusabant**, 'they offered to submit to any penalty.'

§ 10. **corpora curare**, 'to rest,' 'recruit themselves.' 'Cutem curare' is used contemptuously of effeminacy, Hor. Ep. 1. 2. 29:—

'In cute curanda plus aequo operata iuventus.'

collaudatos iubet, 'he praised them and ordered.'

fugam, after 'excluderent;' 'to cut off any escape by night.'

§ 11. **tantum pavoris.** As at the battle of Alia, infra 38. 6 'integri intactique fugerunt,' and supra 18. 10.

retinente, 'trying to restrain.'

§ 12. **sequentibus**, 'the fear of an ambuscade, if they attacked in disorder.' For the participle cp. 4. 59. 7 'cogebantur itaque victi, quia cedentibus spei nihil erat, pugnam inire.'

§ 13. **litterae laureatae**, 'a despatch with tidings of success.'

§ 1. **actiones**, 24. 7; 11. 9. **Chap. 29.**

continuare. Tacitus uses 'adnitor' with infinitive, Hist. 4. 8 'adnitentibus retinere morem.'

suis comitiis. 'Comitia' here, as often, is loosely used of the plebeian assembly, which was technically only a 'concilium.' When the plebs had finally acquired legislative power (287 B.C.), and the number of patrician families had become few, the difference between an assembly of the 'plebs' and of the 'populus Romanus' would seem very slight. Though the patricians were members of the tribes (cp. 30. 4), they had no share in the tribe-assembly of the plebs. See note on 1. 1.

§ 2. **quem dolorem.** The language is very similar to that used in 4. 54. 1, 2, when consuls were elected. 'Non alias aegrius plebs tulit tribunicia comitia (i. e. tribunos militum consulari potestate) sibi non commissa. Eum dolorem quaestoriis comitiis simul ostendit et ulta est.'

quintum decimum, i.e. in 409 B.C., the present year being 393 B.C.

§ 3. **legem**, 'de migrando Veios.' Cp. ch. 24.

§ 4. **per aversa urbis**, 'in the opposite quarter of the city.'

§ 6. **tribunis plebis**; as explained a few lines below, 'because of their conduct in vetoing the proposal of their colleagues.' Compare the action of Tib. Gracchus in obtaining the deposition of his colleague Octavius, who opposed his measures.

Chap. 29. § 6. **quos.** The patricians were unanimous that the defence of these tribunes was a matter for the senate's honour.

§ 7. **pessimo exemplo** = a very bad precedent. This is the only instance of tribunes being so treated.

§ 8. **pravo iudicio**, 'by their iniquitous sentence on the tribunes.'

evertisse, because, as being peculiarly the champions of the plebs, it was the chief duty of the tribunes to veto any act or measure of any official which they thought injurious to the plebs. If tribunes were to be prosecuted for the exercise of their legal right, obviously their power was at an end. The natural result of this conflict of powers was that the senate, the one permanent body in the State, became sovereign at the expense of the magistrates. See 31. 9. note.

§ 9. **quod illi**, ('as for that which') 'as for their hope . . . they were mistaken.'

auxilio. The power of a tribune to protect a citizen from the action of a magistrate. The power was guarded by the fact that his person was inviolable ('sacrosanctitas').

§ 10. **fide publica**, 'by the guarantee of state protection.' 'Fides publica' is used of the safe-conduct granted, e.g. to Jugurtha when he came to Rome to take his trial.

Chap. 30. § 1. **ne aliter**, 'urging them not to go down to vote except in the spirit of men who,' &c.

§ 2. **inter dimicationem**, 'in his country's hour of danger.'

amplum, 'even an honour,' 'a compliment.'

latam refers to the custom of carrying pictures of conquered towns in a triumph.

insistere, wherever they went in Veii they would find traces of his conquest.

§ 3. **nefas**, a violation of divine law, as distinct from human.

mutari, as in Horace, Odes 3. 1. 47:—

> 'Cur valle permutem Sabina
> Divitias operosiores?'

= take in exchange.

§ 4. **principis.** In the general sense, 'the leading man;' 23. 1 'maximum imperatorem omnium,' and 32. 7 'humanam opem quae una erat, M. Furium.'

ferretur, 'was proposed.'

in forum. Cp. note on 1. 1. The meeting place of the assembly of the plebs.

§ 5 **aedem Vestae.** The temple of Vesta, ascribed to Numa, was one of the earliest buildings in the Forum.

§ 6. **extorrem**, ex, terra.

penates. All that is known of the word is that in the phrase

'di penates' it is used for the gods of the household, and belonged to very early Latin history. Curtius connects it with 'pascor,' 'penus,' 'penetro.' **Chap. 30.**

eoque, 'and bring things to this position, that it would be better.' 'Fuerit' may be explained as representing 'melius fuit' = 'it would have been better' (Roby, 1535).

§ 7. **preces**, 'petitions.'

religiosum, 'a majority felt scrupulous.' This discussion illustrates the intensely local character of Roman (as of Greek) religion. Every place had its own god, with whose worship its prosperity was bound up. Cp. 52. 2 'sacrificiis sollemnibus non dies magis stati quam loca sunt.'

una plures = by a majority of one; lit. more tribes by one rejected than voted for the bill. There were twenty-one tribes at this date; cp. 6. 5. 8 'quattuor additae viginti quinque tribuum numerum explevere.'

§ 8. **patribus familiae**: the word does not include all married men with families. The head of the family in the view of Roman law was the highest male ascendant living from whom the rest of the family could trace their descent by blood. If a woman married, she passed into the 'potestas' of her husband, and consequently into a different 'familia.' Hence the term 'agnati' applied to those who trace their lineal descent through males only.

capitum, = 'persons,' would include males and females.

ratio haberetur, 'regard should be had for.'

tollere, literally, of raising the child from the ground after its birth. This was an act of recognition on the part of the father; and unless it were performed, in early times the child would be considered fatherless, and probably left to die. Plaut. Am. 1. 3. 3 'quod erit natum, tollito.' Cp. 'suscipio' = to bring up, acknowledge.

§ 2. **Capitolino**; infra 47, because he saved the Capitol from the Gauls. **Chap. 31.**

ludos magnos, 19. 6.

§ 4. **perseverantior caedendi**. The genitive after participles is not uncommon where the verb is one which takes an accusative, e.g. 'alieni appetens;' but here it is harsh. The MS. reading is 'caedendis,' but, as Madvig points out, it cannot stand alone, and if it be kept, 'iis' must be added.

§ 5. **quo**, 'whither;' i.e. against the Vulsinienses, with 'duci.'

ultro = took the offensive and harried.

§ 6. **suffectus**. The first case of such substitution occurs supra 2. 8. 4 'suffectus in Lucretii locum M. Horatius.'

quae res, 'and afterwards this was scrupulously forbidden,' 'care-

Chap. 31. fully avoided.' Cp. 40. 8 'ubi despui religio est.' 'Res,' i. e. 'suffecti in locum mortui censoris.'

§ 6. **lustro.** Once in each five years an expiatory ('luo') offering was made after the census had been taken, and the sacrifice 'suovetaurilia' performed.

§ 9. **copia.** The emphasis is not so much on the number (six), because that for some years had been the regular number of 'tribuni militum consulari potestate;' but on the fact that tribunes, not consuls, were appointed by the interrex. It is impossible not to notice, throughout these constitutional difficulties, that the senate is really the permanent element in the government of Rome. Their *consultum* obtains the resignation of magistrates, cp. supra 9. 1, when a vote is taken on this same question; and a nominee of theirs among the officials, or one who supported their authority, could enforce it by appointing a dictator, from whom there was no appeal. The senate's real term of power began with the Second Punic War, and lasted till the time of the Gracchi; but there can be no doubt that an assembly composed of officials and ex-officials had a considerable advantage over annual magistrates, especially when the latter usually belonged to the same 'ordo' as the majority of the senate.

Chap. 32. § 1. **Quintilis,** the fifth month, beginning the year with March, i. e. July. In honour of C. Julius Caesar this was afterwards called Iulius mensis, as Sextilis was changed to Augustus.

§ 2. **evenit,** 'sorte.' Cicero in his consulship contrived to obtain the appointment of his colleague Antonius to the province of Macedonia, in order to secure his support against Catiline.

§ 3. **interclusa,** 'intercepted.'

§ 4. **effecit ne,** 'stopped the Salpinates from risking an engagement.'

moenibus, with 'tutabantur;' 'armati' = ready to fight.

§ 5. **res redderent,** 'make restitution.' Cp. 'res repetere,' and the 'rerum repetundarum quaestio' of the lex Calpurnia, B.C. 149, against extortion in the provinces.

stipendium exercitui. Supra 27. 15.

indutiae, derived from 'indu' (= in, cf. 'induperator') and 'ire,' a going into rest.

§ 6. **vocem,** infra 50. 6 a temple built 'Aio Locutio' to commemorate this utterance.

§ 7. **et quod,** 'and also because the people lived far away and were therefore hardly known.'

ingruente. A favourite word in Tacitus, and used also with 'bellum,' 'armorum horror,' 'imber,' by Virgil: also of persons, Tac. Hist. 3. 34 'ingruente in Italiam Hannibale;' Virg. Aen. 12. 628 'ingruit Aeneas Italis.' Here = though doom was impending, was gathering round

Chap. 32.

quae una erat—their only help: 'they thrust out from the city the one and only man who could help them, M. Furius Camillus.'

§ 8. **Qui**, &c. The sentence is valuable as a good specimen of complex construction, which in English would stand as several co-ordinate clauses. 'He was summoned to trial by L. Apuleius to answer for the plunder from Veii. About that time he had lost his grown-up son. On calling a meeting at his house of his tribesmen and dependents, chiefly plebeians, and asking their opinions, he received the answer, that they would contribute any fine which he might be condemned to pay, but could not acquit him. So he went into exile.'

praedam Veientanam. Evidently, so far as Livy tells us, a consequence of the unpopularity of Camillus in regard to the 'donum Apollinis.' Whether there were any grounds for a legitimate condemnation is not recorded.

magna pars, this must = of whom more than half were plebeians; 'quae' = 'quorum.' The dependents of Camillus alone could not be 'more than half the plebs;' 'plebis' = 'de plebe.'

quanti, of price, amount. Cp. Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 156:—

'Quanti emptae? Parvo. Quanti ergo? Octussibus.'

§ 9. **si innoxio**, 'if he were undeserving of the wrong done to him.'

primo quoque, 'at each first,' i.e. 'at the earliest moment,' 'as soon as possible.' 'Quisque' is used by the best writers, especially in prose, only with 'suus,' 'ut,' a superlative, or some relative pronoun ('quod,' 'quando'). Lucretius and earlier writers use it absolutely = every one.

desiderium sui, 'might cause his thankless country to mourn his absence;' cp. *πόθος*.

Chap. 33.

§ 1. **si quicquam.** The double genitive is idiomatic, almost as it were by combining two phrases 'aliquid certi,' and 'humanorum aliquid'—'if anything human is certain.' At the outset of this history of disaster from § 6 of the previous chapter, the writer's language becomes more impressive and solemn. This is Livy's most admirable talent, and one in the exercise of which he seldom fails to rivet attention.

fatali, 'doomed.'

Clusini. Clusium is near the Lacus Trasimenus, on a river named the Clanis, in Etruria. It was one of the great cities of the Etruscans, Falerii, Veii, Capena, Tarquinii, Volsci, Caere, Volsinii, Faesulae, and Cortona being the other principal cities of the 'duodecim populi.'

§ 2. **nova . . . voluptate.** We might expect the genitive, as the wine caused or constituted the 'voluptas;' or else 'vino.'

captam, 'enticed,' 'allured.' Used with all kinds of ablatives—'capta cupidine,' 'auribus,' 'oculis,' 'mente captus.'

Chap. 33. § 2. **agrosque.** Gallia Cisalpina, or Citerior, was the name of the north of Italy till the time of the emperors. It was divided into Transpadana and Cispadana.

§ 3. **Lucumo.** The name is said to have originally meant 'an inspired person, a person possessed.' Servius, the commentator of Virgil, says that each of the twelve Etruscan nations had a Lucumo, a priest-prince: and probably, both here and in 1. 34, Livy has taken it by mistake for a proper name, it being really a designation of rank and title.

tutor, 'guardian.'

iuveni = prince; 34. 3 'impigros iuvenes.'

§ 4. **abnuerim.** The perf. subj. tones down the direct negative: = I will not deny, I should not care to deny.

§ 5. **ducentis . . . annis ante,** i. e. about 600 B. C., according to Livy's chronology in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, 34. 1.

oppugnarent. Cp. supra, note on 16. 1. There is no reason why the indicative should not have been used here.

§ 6. **his Etruscorum,** together, 'this nation of the Etruscans.'

§ 7. **Tuscorum.** Modern researches have proved the truth of this statement. That the legend was old can be seen from 1. 2 'florentes opes Etruscorum Mezentiumque regem eorum,' to whom Turnus and the Rutulians were said to have applied for help against Aeneas.

mare superum, 'the Adriatic.'

inferum, 'the Tuscan or Tyrrhenian Sea.'

quantum potuerint, after **argumento,** 'the names are a proof of their power.'

§ 9. **duodenis.** The distributive is explained by the next clause: twelve cities north and twelve south of the Appennines.

coloniis missis, 'planting as many colonies as there were original cities.'

§ 11. **efferarunt,** 'have made uncivilised.'

ne quid = ut nihil, 'so that they retain nothing,' or 'so as to preserve nothing.'

Chap. 34. § 1. **Celtae,** 'pars tertia Galliae.' Caesar, Bell. Gall. 1. 1 'Gallia est omnis divisa in tres partes, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur.'

summa, a substantive = summa res. Cp. 37. 3 'summa rerum,' 'summa belli.'

Celtico. Cp. 'hosticum,' 8. 38. 2.

§ 2. **Ambigatus,** the name of the Celtic prince.

quod, &c. explains 'publica fortuna;' 'the prosperity of the nation.'

Chap. 34.

abundans multitudo, 'the enormous numbers,' 'the large population.'

§ 3. **ostendit.** Declares his intention to send them to such home as the gods should grant them by augury.

§ 4. **arcere advenientes**, 'prevent their settlement.'

sortibus, explains 'auguriis' in § 3, 'by oracular response.'

haud paulo, like the Greek *οὐχ ἥκιστα*, a form of 'meiosis' or 'litotes,' the opposite to exaggeration = far more fortunate.

Hercynii saltus = southern and eastern Germany.

§ 6. **nulladum**, on the analogy of 'nondum.' In this combination the particle = as yet, and is not to be confounded with the enclitic suffix added to imperatives and interjections, e. g. 'agedum,' 'abidum,' 'tangedum,' &c., of which numerous instances occur in Plautus and Terence.

quod quidem, 'as far as uninterrupted memory extends.' The subjunctive expresses a limit. Cp. 6. 12. 6 'quod . . . conveniat.'

de Hercule fabulis. See 1. 7. 4; Virg. Aen. 8. 201, &c.

§ 7. **religio**: here = a superstitious feeling.

§ 8. **Massilia**, now Marseilles. For the account of their journey from Phocaea see Hdt. 1. 163 seq. The enterprise of the commercial cities of Asia Minor, consisting of colonies from various parts of Greece, is well known.

communirent. So that (ultimately) the Massilians established a settlement on the spot where they had first landed, without hindrance from the Salyes.

§ 9. **agrum . . . cognominem.** 'Cognominis' is an adjective, as in Plaut. Bacch. 1. 1 'duae germanae cognomines;' Virg. Aen. 6. 383 'gaudet cognomine terra.'

pago, in apposition with 'Insubribus.' Weiss. reads 'cognomine Insubribus pago Aeduorum' = a canton of the 'Aedui' bearing the same name as the 'Insubres.' 'Pagus' = a canton or district, as we say, 'a division.'

Chap. 35.

§ 1. **saltu**, pass. The inversion of the sentence may be noticed, 'quum transcendisset' properly coming before 'eodem saltu,' and 'locos tenuere' before 'ubi nunc.'

§ 2. **propter**, 'near to.'

Poenino. The Alps, from the Great St. Bernard to the St. Gothard.

§ 3. **gentem**, 'tribe.' The Senones were an important tribe in the time of Julius Caesar, with many others acknowledging their headship. Their chief city was Agendicum, which is said to have been afterwards called Senones, the same name being perhaps preserved in the modern Sens.

Chap. 35. § 3. **id** = one point, the following point.

solamne . . . adiutam: the accus. by attraction into the case of 'hanc gentem venisse;' the ordinary construction would be 'parum certum est utrum sola venerit.'

§ 4. **invisitatas.** This compound word seems to have been used to avoid the ambiguity which would have arisen if the simple 'invisus,' which also = hated, had been employed for 'unseen:' = strange, uncommon.

adversus Romanos, 'in regard to,' 'with.' Cp. 36. 3, note.

nisi quod, 'except the fact that,' 'unless because.'

§ 5. **agerent cum Gallis ne**, 'remonstrate with the Gauls against their attack on.'

§ 6. The whole of this section, in Oratio Obliqua, forms part of the instructions given to these envoys.

bellum ipsum, 'the war as it was,' 'the existing war.'

Chap. 36. § 1. **mitis . . . ni**, for **mitis fuisset ni.** The shortest rendering of this elliptical form is 'the mission was peaceful (simple), but the envoys were fiery men, more like Gauls than Romans.' The present subjunctive used throughout the following short piece of Oratio Obliqua is to be noted.

§ 2. **quorum . . . sit imploratum**, probably would be subj. in Oratio Recta, 'since the Clusians had called on them for assistance in their time of need'—the relative introducing a reason.

§ 3. **adversus se**, if with 'legatione' = by embassy to them (the Gauls); if with 'tueri socios' = against them (the Gauls).

Clusini. The subject, by a common idiom of construction, is really out of place, being put in the relative when it belongs first to the principal clause. 'If the Clusians would resign a portion of their territory to the Gauls who were in want of land, of which the Clusians hold more than they cultivate.'

quem latius = cuius plus.

§ 5. This sentence is worth studying as an instance of clever construction, peculiarly Latin. 'Romanis quaerentibus' depends on 'quum illi dicerent,' and the two clauses 'quodnam . . . esset,' and 'quid rei . . . esset' follow on 'quaerentibus.' Keeping some of the arrangement, we may render it, 'on the Romans inquiring what kind of right was this, to demand land from its occupiers or to threaten war, and what business the Gauls had in Etruria, when the latter proudly replied that they carried their right in their swords, and that the world belongs to the brave, the passions of both sides were aroused and they rush to arms and join battle.'

§ 6. **urgentibus**, 'dooming,' 'were heavy on.'

ius gentium = iuris humani, 37. 4. In this sense the phrase means

the rights observed by nations generally. It was applied to usages which the Romans, in their intercourse with other peoples, found to be widely spread. Here it is used of dealings between states, in the sphere of 'international law,' but it was also applied to certain forms of transactions between individuals. It came to have the sense of universal informal usage as distinct from special recorded enactments (see Prof. Nettleship's *Art.* in *Journal of Philology*, vol. xiii. p. 169). **Chap. 36.**

peregrina, i. e. 'Romana.' The valour of the Romans was conspicuous above that of the Clusini.

§ 7. **evectus equo**, 'riding,' 'charging.'

per latus, &c., 'ran him through with his spear and killed him.'

legentem, 'collecting.' Cp. 'legere nuces,' 'oleam,' 'herbas,' 'flores.'

signum datum est, 'the word passed, that he was the Roman envoy.'

§ 8. **omissa** = forgetting, giving up.

vicere, 'prevailed,' as in Sall. Jug. 15. 1 'vicit tamen in Senatu pars illa quae . . .'

questum . . . postulatum, supines.

§ 9. 'After the envoys had stated this according to their instructions, the senate did not approve of the act of the Fabii, and besides, the barbarians' demand appeared just.'

in viris, 'in the case of men.'

ambitio, 'party feeling,' 'interested motives.'

§ 10. **ipsos**, 'the senate,' 'the patres.' 'That the blame of any disaster which might possibly be suffered in a war with the Gauls might not lie upon themselves.' Madvig inserts 'si,' which the MSS. omit: 'forte acceptae' would really mean 'which by chance *had been* suffered.'

cognitionem, 'decision,' 'investigation.' Its special meaning as a legal term (first employed apparently by Cicero) is 'judicial inquiry.'

reiiciunt. Cp. 22. 1 'ad senatum rem arbitrii sui reiecisset.'

ubi = apud populum.

§ 11. **haud secus quam dignum erat infensi**, 'justly enraged.'

§ 1. **tanta moles**, 'this terrible calamity.' **Chap. 37.**

vim ingruentem, 'impending doom.'

refringi, 'to be turned back,' metaphor from turning back the point of a spear.

ultima auxilia, 'the last resource,' 'the last expedient.'

tempestatibus, 'on many occasions.' In spite of the context here, the sense of 'troublous times' is not found with this word in Livy. Cp. 45. 1 'ea tempestate.'

§ 2. **ea**, 'civitas.'

oris, 'regions.' Cp. the Lucretian phrase 'in luminis oras.'

§ 3. **nihilo accuratiorem**, 'with no greater care.'

Chap. 37. § 3. **media**, 'ordinary.' Cp. 'medium ingenium' of Galba, Tac. Hist. 1. 49.

extenuantes, 'depreciating,' 'making light of.'

§ 4. **ultro**, from ultra, 'going over and beyond,' 'actually,' 'had gone so far as to pay honour to.'

elusam, 'scorned,' 'insulted.'

cuius impotens = for they are a very passionate people; lit. not master of; 9. 14. 5 'gens impotens rerum suarum.'

§ 5. **tumultum**, here literally 'at the noise of their hurried march.' It is the special word used of a rising in Italy or of the Gauls. The picture here given is very vivid.

equis. Less cumbrous than 'agmine equorum virorumque,' 'occupying an enormous space of country with their widely spread host of horses and men.'

§ 6. **deinceps inde**, 'and in succession from them' (the Clusians).

§ 7. **quippe quibus.** Usually, with subjunctive in Livy, while Sallust prefers indicative: it explains 'plurimum terroris'—the swiftness of the enemy carried a very great panic to Rome: indeed, they barely managed to meet them.

tumultuario, 'hastily levied,' i.e. raised to meet a sudden 'tumultus' or outbreak. Cp. § 5.

Alia. Virg. Aen. 7. 717 'infaustum interluit Alia nomen.' Cp. infra 6. 1, the day of the battle was called 'Aliensis dies,' and was made 'insignem rei nulli publice privatimque agendae.' The date a. d. xv Kal. Sext. (July 16) was the day on which the Fabii had been cut to pieces at the Cremera, 2. 50.

infra viam, i. e. below, south of the high road.

§ 8. **nata in vanos tumultus**, 'to whom foolish rioting is second nature.'

truci cantu. Cp. Tac. Ann. 1. 65 'nox per diversa inquies, cum barbari festis epulis, laeto cantu aut truci sonore subiecta vallium complerent;' and infra 39. 5 'ululatus cantusque dissonos.'

Chap. 38. § 1. **non praemunito vallo**, 'without fortifying an entrenched position.'

si non, 'to say nothing of.' The idea obviously is, 'If they could not think of human interests (e.g. safety of their soldiers, &c.) they might at least have thought of the gods.'

litato, 'without auspices or omens obtained by due sacrifice.' 'Litare' is used of a sacrifice which gains favour, a propitiatory sacrifice. Cp. Virg. Aen. 4. 50 'sacrisque litatis.'

diductam, 'deployed,' 'extended.'

§ 2. **aequari frontes**, 'their line could not be made as broad as the enemy's.'

quum, 'although,' or 'while.' **Chap. 38.**

ut . . . sic, '*while* the source of panic, was *still*,' &c.

§ 3. **artem**, 'stratagem.'

ad id, with 'ut' following, 'for this purpose that.'

aversos transversosque, 'on their rear and flank.'

§ 4. **signa convertit**, 'wheeled round upon,' or 'turned his attack upon.'

haud dubius, 'confident that, if he dislodged them.'

ratio, 'tactics.'

§ 5. **nihil simile Romanis**, 'nothing worthy of.'

non. Note the emphatic repetition of the negative. Cp. 2. 45. 5 'nolle inultos hostes, nolle successum, non patribus, non consulibus.'

hostium, not now belonging to an enemy, but to point the contrast between Veii and Rome.

quum, 'although the Tiber lay between them and Veii.'

§ 6. **simul est auditus** = simul ac.

proximis, &c. The Gauls evidently out-manœuvred the Romans, though this is the only hint given of the fact: the war-cry of the enemy being heard by those nearest on their flank (a dextera) and by the rear-guard behind them.

§ 7. **nec ulla**, &c., 'no lives were lost in actual combat.'

terga caesa. It is simplest to take this as it stands: 'They were cut down from behind in their own struggling amid the crowd that impeded the flight.'

§ 8. **Tiberis**. The men on the left wing would have to cross the Tiber to reach Veii, and this was successfully done by the greater part of them.

graves = gravati.

gurgites, 'were sucked under,' 'drowned in the water.' 'Gurges' does not always mean a whirlpool: here it describes the swirling waters surging about as the soldiers dashed in. Cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 310 'ad terram gurgite ab alto Quam multae glomerantur aves' = from the deep ocean.

§ 9. **non modo quicquam** = non modo nihil, the second negative being, as commonly, omitted when 'ne . . . quidem' follows.

praesidii = troops.

§ 1. **miraculum**, 'the marvel of,' i.e. astonishment at. **Chap. 39.**

pavore, 'amazement.' Also of the excitement of joy or expectation. Virg. Georg. 3. 106 'exsultantiaque haurit Corda pavor pulsans.'

§ 2. **postquam**. With imperfect to denote a continuous condition, 'now that they saw no sign of the enemy.'

excubare, 'on guard,' lit. to lie or sleep out of doors.

sustinuit, 'stopped.'

§ 3. **ignotae situm urbis**, 'their ignorance of the plan of the city.'

Chap. 39. § 3. **quaenam . . . essent**, 'to discover what really were the designs.'

§ 4. **Romani.** There is a slight anacoluthon and confusion in this sentence. Lit. it runs, 'The Romans all living and dead alike being bewailed filled the city with lamentations' = the laments for all alike, the living and the dead, filled the city with weeping. 'Romani' is put first to mark the contrast with 'Gallos,' cp. § 1. It is simplest to translate it 'on the side of the Romans,' or 'at Rome.' For the participial phrase see Excursus, p. 24.

§ 5. **stupefecit** = stunned.

ululatus. Cf. ὀλολύζω; an onomatopœic word.

§ 6. **identidem** = every moment.

adventus, sc. 'suspensos tenuit:' 'adventus' is in opposition to 'omne tempus.' Weissenborn reads 'adventu,' which gives a parallel to 'sub occasum solis.'

hoc consilii, i. e. impetum in urbem facere.

§ 7. **se**, 'object,' thinking that the Gauls would attack them.

§ 8. **ipsum malum continens**, 'the danger feared followed close upon their ceaseless terror.'

§ 9. **cum coniugibus**; infra 40. 4, it would seem that Livy had forgotten that wives and children had been included in this resolution.

arcem Capitoliumque. The Capitoline hill had two peaks, that on the N.E. being the Arx (the site of the present *Ara Coeli*), that on the S.W. the Capitolium proper, though the word came to be used loosely of the whole hill. See 6. 20. 8.

§ 10. **inde**, redundant, 'from this fortified post.'

§ 11. **sacra**, including vessels, goblets, images of the gods.

deseri, after placuit, 'that the worship of the gods should not be abandoned, until there was none left to perform it.'

§ 12. **caput publici consilii**, the chief Council of the State (the head of public policy).

facilem iacturam, 'the loss of the aged was nothing,' Virg. Aen. 2. 646 'Facilis iactura sepulcri.'

utique periturae, 'doomed to die in any case.' 'Turbae' either in apposition to 'seniorum,' or governing it.

§ 13. **de plebe multitudo** = the mass of the plebs, the multitude composed of plebeians.

consulares, 'ex-consuls.'

illis, 'plebe.'

Chap. 40. § 1. **iactata**, 'that passed,' 'uttered.' Used also of troubled thought or utterance. Virg. Aen. 2. 588 'talia iactabam et furiata mente ferebar.'

commendantes, 'entrusting to their valour and their manly strength whatever fate might be left for the city which for 360 years had been victorious in all its wars.'

Chap. 40.

§ 2. **Digredientibus**, ablative absolute. The subject is 'iis, qui secum ferebant,' 'as these, who . . . were separating from those,' &c.

§ 3. **ipsa res speciesque** – the separation was a painful sight to see.

incerta, 'wild rushing to and fro.'

sequentium, as though 'mulierum' had preceded: 'as they followed.'

cui se might mean, (1) asking husband and son 'to what fate they were dooming themselves;' (2) 'to what fate they were leaving them.' But this would rather require 'relinquerent,' as in 3. 52. 4. It seems best to take 'se dare' as reflexive, and translate (3) 'to what fate they (the women) were to submit' (the question would be 'cui nos fato demus?').

nihil, &c., 'completed the scene of suffering,' 'filled up the cup of human suffering.' Cp. Tac. Ann. 1. 21 'nihil reliqui faciunt quominus invidiam . . . permoverent.'

suos persecutae, cp. 39. 9.

quod utile, 'the policy which was expedient for the besieged in order to keep down the number of non-combatants, was scarcely human;' for the construction cp. Cic. de Off. 3. 10. 40 'quod erat utile, patriae consulere, id erat honestum.'

§ 5. **alia**, 'another host, chiefly plebeians;' the genitive here, as 'de plebe multitudo,' supra 39. 13.

agmine iam uno, 'in one unbroken line.'

§ 6. **pars . . . dilapsi**, just as 'pars consecutae,' supra 4, and infra 41. 1 'turba seniorum regressi.'

deploratis = desperatis; 3. 38. 2 'deploratur in perpetuum libertas.'

§ 7. **flamen**, derived from root of 'fla-gro,' 'he who burns offerings,' 'a priest.'

omissa, &c., 'regardless of their own belongings.'

§ 8. **in doliolis**, 'in casks in a shrine next to the house,' &c.

ubi nunc despui religio est = where men are now forbidden to spit.

sublicio, 'bridge of piles;' 'sublica,' a stake driven into the ground. The bridge is famous for the story of Horatius Cocles, 2. 10.

§ 9. **vehens** = driving.

§ 10. **salvo**. Ablative absolute, 'preserving even then the distinction.' Cp. 'captivis ducibus,' 45. 8.

religiosum = sacrilege.

ferri, 'carried in the hand,' opposed to 'vehi,' carried in a waggon. The whole sentence is another instance of Livy's ease of construction.

Chap. 41.

§ 1. **ut**, 'considering their condition,' lit. as being in such a condition.

turba . . . regressi, supra 40. 6, note.

Chap. 41. § 1. **obstinato**, 'resolved, determined to die.'

§ 2. **curules**, i. e. offices which entitled them to the use of the 'sella curulis,' the chair of state, adopted from the Etruscans, and inlaid with ivory. Consuls, dictators, censors, and 'tribuni militum' had this distinction at this date, the 'praetor urbanus' and 'aediles curules' being only elected in B.C. 367, infra 6. 42. 14.

quae . . . ea. Clad in the most magnificent robes which they wore when drawing the 'tensae,' the chariots in which the images of the gods were drawn at the 'ludi Circenses.'

medio aedium, infra 8 'in aedium vestibulis.'

§ 3. **praeeunte**, 'reciting.'

§ 4. **a contentione**, 'they had lost their eagerness to fight.'

ancipiti, 'hardly-contested.'

impetu aut vi. The words seem synonymous. 'Impetus' might refer to an attack following on the defeat of the enemy; 'vi' to an assault after a siege.

Porta Collina. N. E. of the city, under the Quirinal hill: in imperial times, when the city boundaries were extended, this was an inner gate; the Porta Nomentana, on the Via Nomentana, being the gate in the city wall. The Colline Gate commanded the road to the Sabine country. As the Servian wall at this point left the high ground and crossed the plain southwards, it was specially open to attack, and was the scene of many battles: with the Gauls in 360 B.C., with Sulla in 88 B.C., and with the Marian party and the Samnites in 82 B.C.

§ 5. **vacuis occursu** = in the empty streets where none met them.

§ 6. **fraus**, 'stratagem.'

§ 7. **aedificiis**, 'houses.'

atriis, 'halls,' 'mansions.'

§ 8. **adeo haud secus quam**, 'to such an extent even with real feelings of respect.'

humano augustiorem, 'grander than that of men.'

maiestate with **simillimos**.

prae se ferebat, 'displayed.'

§ 9. **promissa**. Cp. Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 35 'sapientem pascere barbam.'

scipio, 'a staff.' The root is the same as in Gk. *σκῆπτρον*.

Gallo . . . permulcenti. The dative after 'iram movisse,' 'excited the anger of a Gaul by bringing down his staff upon his head.'

§ 10. **parci**. Impersonal, as almost invariably with the passive of verbs which govern a dative: 'not a man was spared.'

Chap. 42. § 1. **seu** = whether because.

omnibus, 'the rank and file of the Gauls,' opposed to 'principibus.'

si = to see if, to try if.

Chap. 42.

§ 2. **perinde atque in,** 'just as in,' 'as is usual in.'

§ 3. **non solum** = non solum non.

mentibus . . . consipere, 'keep their senses, but could not even keep their eyes and ears under control.' *Constare* expresses 'composure,' 'self-possession.'

§ 4. **avertisset,** 'diverted their attention,' i. e. by calling it away from anything else. So 1. 12. 10 (Madvig) 'averteratque ea res etiam Sabinos;' for the subjunctive cp. 6. 25. 9.

paventes, 'they turned with terror in their hearts and faces and eyes.'

positi, viz. Romani, 'set there, as it were, by fortune to watch the downfall of their native land.'

nec . . . relicti, 'and left to defend nothing that belonged to them except their lives.'

§ 6. **excepit,** 'followed,' 'succeeded.'

quod . . . cessaret = free from, without.

§ 7. **nihil tamen.** 'Still, in spite of all their burden of overwhelming trouble, their courage did not flinch from the task of defending.' 'Quin' is constantly thus brought in after a negative idea in the preceding sentence.

quamvis, 'poor and small as it was.'

libertati relictum, 'the last stronghold of freedom.'

§ 8. **abalienaverant,** 'they had accustomed their minds not to think of.'

Chap. 43.

§ 1. **nequicquam,** 'without result,' because they met with no opposition, and the Romans on the Capitol did not surrender.

hostes, 'enemies to the Gauls,' i. e. Romans.

experiri ultima, 'to make a desperate attempt.'

§ 2. **testudo.** See note on 5. 6.

nihil temere, sc. 'agunt.' The sentence contains characteristics of Tacitus' style.

signa ferri, 'the advance was made.'

robore virorum, 'picked soldiers.'

quo . . . eo, express proportion.

§ 3. **restitere,** 'the Gauls halted.'

atque = 'and then;' 'inde' is redundant as in 39. 10; anticipating 'ex superiore loco.'

sua sponte, 'naturally, without any effort of the Romans.'

ea, 'such terrible . . .' Madvig's conjecture.

ut . . . tentaverint. The perf. subj. is sometimes used in consecutive clauses in Livy where one would expect the impft. See Excursus, p. 25.

Chap. 43. § 4. **subeundi**, of climbing up.

immemores, 'for which they had taken no measures.'

et . . . et, 'both . . . and.'

raptum, by the Romans; 'hurriedly carried off to Veii.'

§ 5. **placuit**, 'they arranged.'

partim, for 'partem' = some, one half. It is even used as a substantive with genitive following, 26. 46. 8 'partim copiarum ad tumulum expugnandum mittit.'

§ 6. **ipsa**, emphatic, the hand of Fortune, 'unquestionably.'

Ardeam. The capital of the Rutuli when Aeneas, according to the legend, landed in Italy, Virg. Aen. 7. 411:—

'Locus Ardea quondam
Dictus avis; et nunc magnum tenet Ardea nomen;
Sed fortuna fuit.'

§ 7. **quum . . . senesceret** = a Greek participle, 'growing aged,' 'growing weary.'

§ 8. **fortius . . . felicius**, 'with more bravery than luck.' The Latin idiom puts both adjectives into the comparative.

divino spiritu, supra 22. 5.

Chap. 44. § 1. **novi . . . cives**, 'now my countrymen.'

ita tulit, 'since your kindness has made it so,' i.e. 'fecit me civem vestrum.'

quod. The genitive 'praesidii' depends upon this, 'to bring to the common stock, to contribute what help a man can in the time of danger.'

§ 2. **pro tantis**, 'for your great services.'

cessavero, 'if I am slow now' Cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 51 'Cessas in vota precesque.'

hac arte, i. e. 'arte militari.'

steti, 'I was successful,' 'I stood secure.' Virg. Aen. 1. 268 'Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno.'

§ 3. **Vobis** is answered by 'huic urbi,' 'oblata est fortuna' going with both: 'you have an opportunity to requite with gratitude the great kindnesses of the Romans, and the citizens have an opportunity to win great military glory.'

exprobranda, 'beneficia,' 'they need not be made a reproach;' the phrase is an apology for mentioning the 'beneficia.'

adventat, 'are trooping up.'

§ 4. **eo**, 'therefore.'

§ 5. **Argumento**, 'proof.'

§ 6. **repleti**, 'gorged.'

appetit, neuter, 'comes on.' Supra 19. 1 'Veiis fata appetebant.'

Chap. 44.

sternuntur, 'they throw themselves down.'

ab secundis rebus, 'on account of,' 'after their success.' Cp. 28. 7.

§ 7. **nec pati,** 'and not to permit the whole country to become Gallia.'

prima vigilia, 'nox in quattuor vigilias dividitur, quae singulae trium horarum spatio supputantur' (from the Letters of S. Jerome).

non recuso, 'I willingly accept the same issue for myself, as I experienced at Rome.'

Chap. 45.

§ 1. **aequis iniquisque** = friends and foes.

tantum, supra 23. 1 'maximum imperatorum omnium.'

intenti quam mox, 'eagerly awaiting the moment when.'

§ 2. **primae noctis,** 'prima vigilia,' supra 44. 7.

praesto. The dictionaries explain it as dative from 'praestus,' a superlative form of 'prae;' so 'praesto esse alicui' = to be in the foremost place for a person, close, ready for him.

intuta, 'unguarded.'

nacti, 'finding.'

§ 3. **soluta.** Cp. the Homeric expression *λύτο γυῖα,* 'the men were cut down naked, unnerved, and asleep.'

quae aut, &c., after 'ignaros.'

vis, 'the attack.'

improvidos, 'unawares.'

§ 4. **prope quadringentesimum.** More specifically, supra 40. 1 'per trecentos sexaginta annos;' infra 54. 5 'Trecentesimus sexagesimus quintus annus.'

adeo nihil, 'were so far from feeling pity for the city . . . as to make.'

oppugnare. The use of the infinitive after such a phrase ('in animo habere') shows that the infinitive was originally a substantival form, 'they had in their minds *the attacking*.' See Roby, Lat. Gr. 1342, &c.

§ 6. **indignitas,** 'sense of disgrace,' hence 'indignation,' more often it is used of 'an outrageous or insulting act.' Cp. infra 48. 9 'rei foedissimae per se adiecta indignitas est.'

Etrusci. Clusium being a city of Etruria, supra 33. 6 'cum his Etruscorum,' i. e. Clusinis.

§ 7. **animis,** their indignation, 'themselves.'

compressi, 'checked.'

sustinuere, 'put off.'

§ 8. **auctor,** 'a leader.'

fortunae eventu = the same successful issue.

ducibus captivis, 'guided by the prisoners.' Abl. abs.

Chap. 45. § 8. salinas, on the right bank of the Tiber, not far from Veii, cp. 7. 19. 8. The name means 'Salt-works or mines;' but this place cannot be the same as the well-known salt mines near Ostia, for both the Tuscans and the Romans from Veii would have had to pass the Gauls in Rome to reach Ostia.

Chap. 46. § 1. **silentium**, 'no active measures.'

convertit, 21. 4. 2 'Hannibal primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit.'

§ 2. **sacrificium**, every gens had its common worship, consecrating the bond which united its members. See 52. 4, note.

statum, participle from 'sisto;' infra 52. 2 'dies stati.'

Gabino cinctu. A peculiar mode of adjusting the toga for the performance of ceremonial rites; 10. 7. 3 'incinctum Gabino cultu;' Virg. Aen. 7. 612:—

'Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino
Insignis.'

Gabii was twelve miles east of Rome.

terrorem, 'threats.'

§ 3. **eadem**, sc. 'via.'

constanti, 'undaunted.'

satis sperans, 'fully assured that the gods were favourable.'

esse, not 'fore,' to emphasise his conviction.

cuius haudquaquam, for Celtic religion cp. Caesar, B. G. 6. 16. 1.

quorum . . . deseruisset, 'since, inasmuch as he had not neglected.'

§ 4. **voluntariis**, supra 16. 5.

ut in parte = to share.

§ 6. **Locus ipse**, supra 30. 2 'insistere omnes vestigiis laudum suarum,' of Veii.

admonebat Camilli. Cp. Sall. Jug. 95. 2 'nos tanti viri res admonuit.'

se commissurum cur. 'declared that he would give no occasion for any . . . to terminate his command rather than.' The sense is, 'if Caedicius a *centurio* acted as though he did not need an *imperator*, he would risk being put down as a usurper: he preferred to ask for an *imperator*, and thus resign his command, and not have it taken from him.'

§ 7. **sed antea**, i.e. but not till the senate had been consulted.

discrimina rerum, 'proper distinctions.' Cp. 40. 10.

§ 8. **transeundum erat**, 'some one had to cross.'

secundo Tiberi, 'down the Tiber.'

§ 9. **proximum a ripa** = via qua ei eunti a ripa Capitolium fuit

proximum, 'where the Capitol was nearest to the bank,' or 'by the nearest route from.' **Chap. 46.**

neglectum custodia, 'incustoditum ab hostibus.'

§ 10. **curiatis**, supra 1. 1 and infra 52. 16. Probably both abls. *comitiis* and *iussu* qualify *revocatus*. It would give better sense to take *comitiis* with *diceretur*, and *jussu* with *revocatus*, but the order is against it. In any case the facts must remain doubtful.

§ 11. **seu**, 'or else:' 'and we would rather believe that he did not leave Ardea until he learnt that the law was passed.' The senate could only pass a 'consultum' authorising or recommending this course; and since the Roman 'populus' was now at Veii, the Comitia Curiata would be held there and the lex passed.

mutari finibus, 'he could not be removed in point of territory (in domicile),' i. e. into Roman territory.

lex curiata, generally used of the *lex curiata de imperio*, see note on 1. 1: here of a law reinstating Camillus. Weissenborn suggests that it was passed by the Curiae because he had to be reinstated in his *Gens*: but Livy is not a good authority on the Comitia.

§ 2. **vestigio.** Compare the account in Sall. Jug. 93. **Chap. 47.**

ad Carmentis. Near the temple of Carmentis; according to the legend, she was the mother of Evander, who came from Arcadia with him. Carmenta 1. 7. 8 'fatiloquam ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum;' Ovid, Fasti 1. 449 seq.: her temple was at the S. W. of the Capitol.

sublustri. 'Sub' in composition often means 'faintly.'

alterni, 'alternately helped up, and helping their comrades.'

§ 3. **fallo** = λανθάνω, 'escape the notice of.'

sollicitum, 'a creature always excited by noises in the night.' Cp. Lucr. 5. 864 'levisomna canum fido cum pectore corda.'

§ 4. **sacris Iunonis**, 'because sacred to Juno.'

in summa: to get the force of 'tamen,' translate 'in spite of the great scarcity.'

triennio ante. The point of time answering the question, 'How long ago?' is put in the ablative.

vadit, 'rushes out.'

§ 5. **casus** is the subject of 'sterneret,' **Manlius** of 'truci lat.'

proturbare; the preposition as in 'prolapsa,' 'drive them forward, away;' Aen. 10. 801.

ruina, 'with a crash' (a favourite word of Virgil's), 'the whole host tumbling and overthrown were hurled headlong.'

§ 7. **classico.** The 'classicum' was the trumpet by which soldiers in camp were summoned to an assembly, 2. 45. 12 'quum silentium classico fecisset.'

Chap. 47. § 7. **perperam**, an accusative like 'clam,' 'coram,' 'palam,' and in plural, 'alias;' = wrongly.

donatus, 'received presents.'

§ 8. **cui**, 'for (all the soldiers gave) to him.'

selibras, semi-libra.

quartarios. One-fourth of any measure, perhaps of a 'sextarius,' which is a liquid measure = a pint, one-sixth of a 'congius.'

rem, accusative in apposition to the object of the sentence.

corpori atque, &c., 'from his personal and necessary wants.'

§ 9. **fefellerat adscendens** = ἔλαθεν ἀναβάς, had climbed up unnoticed.

more militari, probably the 'fustuarium,' supra 6. 14. But that was the special punishment for a deserter, and the criminal here was thrown down from the rock; so that death in some form or other is evidently the 'supplicium' intended.

§ 11. **intentiores**, 'were more strict.'

commeare, 'pass to and fro.'

ab, 'by reason of.' Cp. 44. 6.

Chap. 48. § 2. **quum loco**, 'because they were encamped in a place which was at once a valley and also was parched by the burning of the city, and full of exhalations, and because the wind, whenever it rose at all, carried clouds of ashes as well as dust about.' As the sentence stands, 'ferente' seems to go with 'loco;' but 'vento' can be supplied from the clause 'quum quid,' &c. as the subject of the participle. Cp. supra 40. 2 'Digredientibus qui . . . ferebant.'

§ 3. **humori et frigori**, 'a damp and cold climate.'

angore. Perhaps in its literal sense 'choking' (ango), 'plagued by the heat and almost stifled.'

vulgatis, 'spreading.'

busta Gallica, 22. 14. 11.

§ 4. **identidem**; ἀεί, constantly, 'repeatedly put forward their state of famine.'

§ 5. **iam** = tandem.

per se, 'on his side,' he being at Ardea, and his 'magister equitum' at Veii.

parat instruitque, 'raises and equips troops in order to attack the enemy without any disadvantage.'

§ 6. **stationibus vigiliisque**, 'by picket and guard duty.'

diem de die, for 'de die in diem.'

§ 7. **iactantibus non obscure**, 'hinting quite plainly.'

haud magna, 'that they could be induced, for no extravagant sum to raise the blockade.'

Chap. 48.

§ 8. **negotium,** 'the duty was assigned.'

transacta res, 'an arrangement was made.'

pondo, indecl. used as substantive; cp. 'frugi,' adj.

mox imperaturi, 'destined to be empress of the world.' Virg. Aen. 6. 852 'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.'

§ 9. **indignitas,** cp. supra 45. 6, 'an insult.'

recusante, 'remonstrated.'

vae, cp. Gk. *οὐαί*, 'woe.' The same phrase occurs in Plaut. Pseud. 5. 2. 35, in the mouth of the drunken Pseudolus.

Chap. 49.

§ 1. **infanda,** 'awful,' 'shameful.' Virg. Aen. 2. 3 'infandum renovare dolorem' = unspeakable.

altercatio, from 'alter,' a dispute between two parties.

dictator. This version of the story also appears in Plutarch, Camill. 29. The other historians say nothing of the intervention of Camillus.

§ 2. **ratam,** 'binding.' The plea is very characteristic on the part of the Roman, with his reverence for strictly legal forms. Cp. 46. 11 supra: and it serves to put him in the right, as, according to his legal quibble, the 'pactio' was 'irrita,' not binding.

iniussu, only used in ablative.

§ 3. **in conspectu,** 'with the temples of the gods before their eyes, and their wives and children and the soil of their native land disfigured by the horrors of war, and all that it is their sacred duty ("fas") to protect and recover.'

§ 5. **nova re,** 'the change of affairs,' 'unexpected change.'

haud maiore momento, 'with no greater effort:' **momentum** = molimentum. Madvig says, 'Pro *momento* posueram *molimento*, hoc est, difficultate, molimine. Sed etiam 8. 19. 8, et 21. 43. 11, levi momento victi dicuntur, qui facile victi sunt.'

quam = quam quo, than that with which.

§ 6. **altero;** 21. 14. 11 'postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones.'

omnia obtinuit, 'prevailed everywhere.'

§ 7. **inconditos,** 'among the rough (extemporaneous) jests which the soldiers utter.'

parens patriae. Juv. 8. 244, quoted in note to 24. 11.

haud vanis, 'well-deserved.'

Chap. 50

§ 1. **cultor.** Hor. Odes 1. 34. 1 'Parcus deorum cultor;' 'most careful in his respect to.'

rettulit, 'ad senatum,' proposed, laid before them.

senatus, subject.

Chap. 50. § 2. **terminarentur**, 'the boundaries should be marked out.'

in libris . . . duumviri, supra 13. 5.

hospitium publico, the rights of *ξενία*, supra 28. 5 'hospitium cum Timasitheo factum donaque publice data.'

Caere. For their later political condition see 7. 20. 8.

collegium, 'a board' (of managers).

§ 5. **Expiandae**, 'of atoning for,' after 'mentio.' Supra 32. 6.

Aius Locutius, 'Wonderful Utterer.' The name is apparently invented to suit the deity supposed to have given the information; it is not used except with reference to this miraculous message about the Gauls. For the name, cp. Fors Fortuna.

§ 6. **cella**, the part of the temple where the image stood, 'the chapel,' 'shrine.'

quum, 'since there was no distinct recollection.'

§ 7. **in publico**, sc. 'aerario.' Cp. 4. 10. 6.

summa . . . confieret. Passive of 'conficere,' = like 'cogere pecuniam,' to get together, make up a sum of money. Cic. Flacc. 20 'conficiendae pecuniae rationes.'

honos. Cp. the 'honos' for a similar act of patriotism on the part of the 'matronae;' supra 25. 9.

laudatio, 'funeral oration.' Cic. de Sen. 4. 12 'est in manibus laudatio.'

§ 8. **tum demum**, 'then only,' 'not till then.' The 'diligentissimus deorum cultor' (supra § 1) took care for the observance of religious duties before meeting the tribunes. His speech concludes the book.

contionibus, 'harangues.'

escendit, to the tribunal or platform from which he would address the assembly (cp. *ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα* at Athens). Afterwards called the Rostra, because ornamented with the beaks of ships taken from the enemy. See 8. 14. 12.

Chap. 51. § 1. **nec . . . et.** Cf. *οὔτε . . . καί* in Greek.

aliud quam quod, 'no other consolation but the fact that.'

eadem haec, 'certamina cum tribunis.' Cp. supra 29, 30.

fuerim rediturus, 'I meant never to return.'

§ 2. **mea voluntas mutata**, 'no change in my own feelings.'

ut, after 'id agebatur' = the issue was that.

utique = see note on 5. 24. 7; we might say 'I personally.'

nefas, 'a sin,' 'a neglect of sacred duty.'

§ 3. **quum**, 'whereas.'

§ 4. **religiones**, 'if no observances had been established and handed down from hand to hand.' For the different uses of *religio* see Index.

Chap. 51.

numen, of the revealed power of the gods. Cp. 7. 26. 3.

affuit, 'was present to help.'

§ 5. **horum deinceps**, 'of the last few years in succession.'

sequentibus, 'to you when you obeyed.'

§ 6. **lacu Albano**: supra 15. 4; 16. 9; 19. 1.

§ 7. **gentium ius . . . violatum**: supra 36. 6, 8; 37. 4.

spreta . . . violatum . . . praetermissum; supply 'est,' or 'erat.'

§ 8. **redempti**, rhetorical; 49. 1 'diique et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere Romanos.'

documento, 'a warning.'

admonuerunt religionum; supra 46. 6 'admonebat Camilli.'

§ 9. **alia . . . alia**, neuter plurals, 'some . . . others.' Weissenborn defended 'terrae' of the MSS. as a locative.

deserti, 'though abandoned.' Concessive participle.

§ 10. **caeci avaritia**. Virg. Aen. 3. 49 'auri cum pondere magno;' ibid. 56:—

> 'Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
> Auri sacra fames?'

foedus ac fidem. Note on supra 49. 2.

Chap. 52.

§ 1. **Haec tanta momenta**, 'these (instances of) the great influence, 'importance.'

ecquid, 'can you at all?'

quantum paremus nefas, 'what a crime we are engaged in.'

§ 2. **auspicato**. The city is a *templum*, whose boundaries are marked out, after taking the auspices, by the rules of the augurs.

dies stati quam loca; supra 46. 2 'sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali colle;' infra, § 3.

privatos. Lares, Penates, of each house, familia, or gens.

§ 3. **Quam par**, ironical.

§ 4. **gentilicia sacra**. Cp. 46. 2. The bond of union between the members of a gens was their common name (Fabia gens) and their religious rites. It is to this that the consuls (4. 2. 5) refer when arguing against the 'lex de connubio' of Canuleius, 'Colluvionem gentium, perturbationem auspiciorum publicorum privatorumque afferre . . . ut ignoret cuius sanguinis, quorum sacrorum sit.'

sollemni, substantive, as in the preceding section.

§ 5. **salvis caerimoniis**, 'without violating the rites.' Cp. 40. 10.

§ 6. **percenseam**, 'reckon up.'

pulvinar, 'the cushioned seat.' Supra 13. 6 'suscipi' = lifted up.

§ 7. **ancilibus**; 1. 20. 4 'Salios XII Marti Gradivo legit . . . caelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur, ferre iussit.' Perhaps from the same root as ἄγκυλος, 'curved,' 'rounded.'

Chap. 52. § 7. **Gradive**, perhaps from 'gradus,' who marches to war.

Quirinus, from 'Cures,' a Sabine town. The word shows the importance of the Sabines at the beginning of Rome.

signoque. The Palladium, brought to Rome by Aeneas and kept in the temple of Vesta.

profano; cp. 'profectus;' outside the sanctuary, i. e. unconsecrated.

aequalia = contemporaneous with the origin of the city.

§ 8. **in monte Albano.** Cp. 17. 2; 19. 1.

Lavinii. The Roman flamines and augures yearly offered sacrifice there at the festival of the Penates, and the higher magistrates at the beginning and end of their year of office.

nobis, after 'facienda.'

§ 9. **agite dum**; see note on supra 34. 6.

quoties, 'how often,' depending on 'recordamini,' hence subjunctive.

instaurentur; supra 19. 1 'Latinae instauratae.'

modo, 'just lately.'

auspiciorum; 17. 2 'magistratus vitio creatos . . . auspicia de integro repeterentur.'

affectae, 'saved the State weakened by the war with Veii.'

§ 10. **tanquam**, &c. This expresses two characteristics of Roman religion, its tenacity of old rites, its elasticity in accepting new ones.

Iuno regina; 22. 5, 6.

celebri, 'what a memorable day of rejoicing because of . . .'

§ 12. **fuimus relicturi**, 'if we intended to leave.'

voluntate, 'of our own freewill.'

§ 13. **piaculi**, here = crime, from the meaning of 'sin-offering' it comes to be used of a 'sin' for which expiation is necessary. Cp. Aen. 6. 569, 'commissa piacula.'

Dialis, cp. Διός, Diespiter.

§ 14. **peregre**, 'per-ager,' 'away from home, out of the city.'

tantum piaculi, 'this serious guilt.'

§ 15. **pomoerium**: 'post-murus,' according to Varro, a space within and without the walls of a town left free from buildings, bounded by 'cippi' or 'termini;' 1. 26. 6 'verberato vel intra pomoerium vel extra pomoerium.' It was the limit of the *urbana auspicia*. Cf. Gell. 13. 14. 1.

§ 16. **Comitia.** See supra 1. 1, note.

tanto incommodo, 'with enormous inconvenience.'

Chap. 53. § 1. **At enim** introduces a supposed objection, 'It will be urged that though migration meant the violation of every sacred tie, yet circumstances force it on us.'

vastam = vastatam. **Chap. 53.**

ad integra, &c., to Veii, where all is complete, uninjured.

§ 2. **iactari.** 'I think, Quirites, it is obvious to you that this plea is rather a pretext (thrown out) than a true reason.'

ut ego, 'although I were not to say so.'

actam esse. First in 24. 7, supra.

§ 3. **nec mirati sitis.** For pft. subj. cp. Hor. Odes 1. 18. 1:—

'Nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem.'

§ 4. **esset**, 'might be;' = fuisset. The imperfect is used to bring the case near, 'In that case we should have a reason, as we have not now.'

§ 5. **victores**, 'as conquerors, after victory.' Subject of 'videbimur.'

hoc necessitatis, together. Cp. supra 'quantum, tantum piaculi,' and Excursus. To the nominatives supply 'videbitur.'

consciseeremus, 'bring on ourselves.' Compare the phrase 'sibi mortem consciscere' = to commit suicide.

§ 6. **iam** = mox.

multitudo; supra 34. 2 'abundans multitudo.'

§ 7. **an malitis.** 'Or would you rather this should be a desert and your own, than a city of your enemies?' 'Vestram' and 'hostium,' 'solitudinem' and 'urbem,' are antithetical.

§ 8. **casa.** The 'casa Romuli' was a thatched cottage on the Capitoline. Virg. Aen. 8. 654:—

'Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.'

Ovid, Fasti 3. 184 (176):—

'Aspice de canna straminibusque domum.'

satius, comparative of 'satis,' preferable.

exsulatum publice (supine), 'to go as a nation into exile.'

§ 9. **convenae pastoresque.** Juv. 8. 274:—

'Maiorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum,
Aut pastor fuit aut illud quod dicere nolo;'

and 1. 8. 6: 2. 1. 4 'illa pastorum convenarumque plebs.'

silvas. Some of the old names of the hills record the woods which once covered them, e. g. Viminalis, Querquetulanus (= Coelius), Esquilinus (aesculus).

§ 1. **fraude**, 'by crime.' **Chap. 54.**

vento diffusa flamma. Thuc. 2. 77, during the siege of Plataea, *πνεῦμά τε εἰ ἐπεγένετο αὐτῇ ἐπίφορον, οὐκ ἂν διέφυγον.*

§ 2. **Adeo nihil tenet**, 'has our native soil absolutely no hold upon us?'

superficie. In the language of jurists 'a building' as being above ground.

Chap. 54. § 3. **iniuriae vestrae**, 'the wrong which you did to me.'

caelum . . . educatus. Juvenal 3. 84, 85:—

> 'Usque adeo nihil est, quod nostra infantia caelum
> Hausit Aventini?'

moveant . . . macerent, 'a wish,' like the Greek optative. The present subjunctive is usually employed when the wish is likely to be fulfilled, the imperfect when its realisation is impossible, either in itself or according to the speaker's belief.

caritate sua, 'your affection for them;' 'suus,' objective, cp. *vestrae* above.

§ 4. **mediterraneis**, 'inland.'

expositum agrees with *mare*, but in sense goes with *locum*; 'the sea was near enough for every convenience, but not so near as to expose the city,' &c. Ostia was less than twenty miles from Rome.

mediam, reckoning from North to South.

§ 5. **natum unice**, 'specially designed by nature.'

tot . . . tam . . . tantum. A characteristic Latin usage, which we should turn by 'all these,' 'with its enormous power.'

oppida. In apposition to Volsci, 'and all their powerful cities.'

latitudinem obtinens Italiae, 'occupying the whole breadth of Italy;' supra 33. 9 'ei (Etrusci) in utrumque mare vergentes.'

§ 6. **malum**; interjectional, 'in Heaven's name.'

expertis. There is apparently some corruption here; but as the text stands, the meaning is clear, 'what reason is there for you, who have had experience, to try something new?' Perhaps 'talia' or 'laeta' has fallen out. Madvig and Ussing, comparing supra 21. 12 'deiectis armatis;' 40. 40. 15 'exauctoratis militibus impositis;' Tac. Ann. 12. 14 'profligatis obversis,' say 'fortasse scribendum erat *spretis expertis*,' which would mean 'despising those who have had experience:' or if 'expertus' be taken in its passive sense, as frequently used in and after the Augustan period, 'scorning experience.' As the MSS. have 'expertis latos alia,' 'laetos' and 'iratos' have been conjectured for 'latos.'

ut, 'supposing that;' supra 53. 2 'ut ego non dicam.'

§ 7. **capite humano**; 1. 55. 5 'caput humanum integra facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur apparuisse.' Compare the legend of the foundation of Carthage by Dido, Virg. Aen. 1. 443:—

> 'Effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno
> Monstrarat, caput acris equi; sic nam fore bello
> Egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem.'

liberaretur, 'was being freed' (from buildings which obstructed the view). Cp. Cic. Leg. 2. 8. 21.

caelo demissa; Virg. Aen. 8. 664 'lapsa ancilia caelo.'

manentibus, 'if you remain.'

§ 1. **tum maxime**, 'but especially.' **Chap. 55.**

curia Hostilia; 1. 30. 2. See note on 5. 7. 6.

comitio, situated near the Forum: XII Tab. 'in comitio aut in foro.' See note on 7, § 9.

§ 2. **accipere omen**; cp. Cic. Div. 1. 46. 103 'Mi pater, inquit, Persa (catellus) periit. Tum ille, accipio, inquit, mea filia, omen' (of victory over Perses).

antiquata, 'rejected.' Cp. 6. 35. 8.

§ 3. **promiscue**, 'indiscriminately.'

ius factum, 'the right to hew stone and cut timber was granted.'

praedibus, 'sureties,' 'on their giving security.'

§ 4. **curam exemit**; cp. 51. 4 'negligentiam exemptam hominibus.' 'Their haste made them careless of planning the streets.'

§ 5. **cloacae**, from 'cluo' = purgo, according to Pliny. Constructed by Tarquinius Priscus, 1. 38.

per publicum, 'through state lands.'

occupatae . . . divisae, 'the shape of the city looks more like that of a place taken possession of than properly laid out.'

BOOK VI.

§ 1. The opening of this book may be compared with the first sentences of the second and twenty-first books, and also with Xenophon, Cyr. Exp. 4. 1. **Chap. 1.**

regibus. The early history of Rome, for which the usual dates given are from 754–510 B.C., is too uncertain to have its periods actually fixed. Consuls (Brutus and Collatinus) were first appointed B.C. 510 (1 *ad fin.*); and this, the highest magistracy in the Roman state, remained till the imperial period, being at times interrupted by the appointment of a dictator, once by 'decemviri' (451–449 B.C.), and afterwards by the appointment of 'tribuni militares cum consulari potestate,' 444–367 B.C., 4. 7 to end of this book. During this period consuls were occasionally elected.

§ 2. **litterae**, 'written documents.'

una = sola, 'the sole faithful guardian of a record of the past.'

etiamsi quae . . . pleraeque = of any which . . . , the greater part. For the apposition 'quae . . pleraeque' cp. Demosth. Ol. 3. 11 τοὺς περὶ τῶν στρατευομένων ἐνίους.

commentariis pontificum. The pontifices kept an official list of the annual chief magistrates, and to this formal record were gradually added notices of important events so as to form something like a regular chronicle. (Mommsen, History of Rome, i. p. 476.)

Chap. 1. § 2. **publicis**: laws, resolutions of the senate, treaties, &c.

privatis: family records, funeral panegyrics, inscriptions on statues.

§ 3. **deinceps**, 'dein capio,' like 'particeps,' 'princeps,' taking place next after.

laetius . . . renatae, 'as it were born again, springing up with a brighter and happier promise of fruit.'

§ 4. **principe**, 'the leading citizen,' cp. 5. 30. 4. 'Princeps' afterwards was used as an appellation of the emperors, being chosen as a word with republican associations, and no definite official meaning.

neque . . . nisi = and only.

anno circumacto. The siege began in July and lasted seven months. Livy probably means that Camillus held office till the end of the official year (Weiss.).

§ 5. **Comitia . . . tribunos habere**: 'tribunos' subject. The dictator apparently did not hold the comitia in virtue of his office on this occasion, though it would have been the usual course.

quorum . . . esset. Subjunctive of cause, 'because the tribunes were in office at the time of the capture of the city.'

interregnum; see note on 5. 17. 4.

§ 6. **Q. Fabio**, son of Q. Fabius Ambustus, 5. 35, 36.

simul primum, 'at the very moment when.'

orator. Cp. 5. 15. 3. In its sense of 'a speaker,' 'an envoy,' as in Virg. Aen. 7. 153:—

> 'Centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis
> Ire iubet.'

§ 7. **voluntariam**. Compare 3. 58, the suicide of Appius Claudius the Decemvir.

§ 8. **Is . . . creat**, i. e. by holding the comitia; not like the 'dicere dictatorem,' for which no election was required; the power of appointing a dictator vesting in the senate, and occasionally being exercised by the consul or highest state official. Cp. 3. 8. 2; 4. 7. 10.

§ 10. **duodecim tabulae**; 3. 33 seq. Cp. Tac. Ann. 3; Livy 34. 6. 7. A 'lex regia,' said to belong to the time of Servius Tullius, is preserved in Ennius: 'Si parentem puer verberit, divis parentum sacer esto.' Cp. Hor. Ep. 2. 1. 23.

comparerent, 'such as were in existence.'

edita in vulgus. Cp. 9. 46. 5 'Civile ius, repositum in penetralibus pontificum, evulgavit fastosque circa forum in albo proposuit [Cn. Flavius, scriba], ut quando lege agi posset sciretur,' and Cic. ad Att. 6. 1. 8.

religione obstrictos. Partly, no doubt, that they might keep to themselves the superiority which knowledge has over ignorance: partly, e. g. in regard to 'fasti' and 'nefasti dies,' for political purposes.

§ 11. **a. d. xv Kal. Sextiles**, i. e. July 18. **Chap. 1.**

ad Cremeram. The tale of the 'Fabia gens' who undertook by themselves the war against Veii is told in 2. 48–50.

insignem rei nulli. The dative after 'insignis' is rare; 'memorable, a day observed by the performance of no business public or private.' Weissenborn reads 'nullius' = 'decreverunt ut esset dies nullius rei agendae, et per hoc insignis.'

§ 12. **postridie idus Quintiles**: July 16. 'Idus' is accusative; cp. 'postridie calendas,' infra—'die post idus,' as 'ante diem quintumdecimum Kalendas Sextiles' = 'quintodecimo die ante Kal. Sextiles.' The day after the Calends, the Nones, and the Ides was treated as 'ater dies.'

litasset; cp. 5. 38. 1 'nec auspicato nec litato.'

pace, 'grace,' 'favour.' Virg. Aen. 3. 370 'Exorat pacem divum.'

supersederi, 'to refrain from;' impers. pass.

The Kalends were on the first of each month: the Nones (ninth day before the Ides) on the fifth (except in March, July, October, and May, when they were on the seventh); and the Ides (root perhaps in 'di-vido,' dividing the month,) on the thirteenth, and in the four months enumerated on the fifteenth. In these months, up to the reform of the Calendar in B. C. 45, the number of days was 31, in the rest 29, except February, which was 28. Gellius, 5. 17 'Complures senatores recordari sese dixerunt, quoties belli gerundi gratia res divina postridie Kal. Non. Id. a magistratu populi Romani facta esset, eius belli proximo deinceps proelio rem publicam male gestam.'

§ 1. **quietis**; dat. sc. Romanis: 'the Romans were not long allowed to discuss in peace.' **Chap. 2.**

secum—by themselves, uninterrupted by strangers.

§ 2. **principum ex**, 'of the leading men out of all the nations of Etruria;' 5. 33. 1, note.

fanum Voltumnae: 5. 17. 6; 4. 23. 5.

mercatores: cp. 4. 24. 1.

§ 3. **defectionis Latinorum**; infra 8. 3. 8 'defectio sociorum nominisque Latini haud dubia erat.' The great Latin War is dated 340–338 B. C.

lacum Regillum; 2. 19. 3, when Aulus Postumius was dictator. It was the final attempt and defeat of the exiled Tarquinii.

amicitia. The word is applied (1) generally to 'friendly powers,' (2) specially of states united by a *foedus* guaranteeing mutual freedom and rights of property. Cp. 8. 25. 3 'foedere ergo in amicitiam recepti.'

§ 6. **iustitio**; 'ius sisto,' a cessation of all business.

ita ut: lit. 'in such a manner that;' 'nay, and even.'

in verba sua iuratos, 'sworn to obey him.' Because the general

Chap. 2. or his subordinates administered the oath and the soldiers repeated the words of it after him, 3. 20. 3.

§ 6. **centuriaret**, 'enrolled,' viz. in the centuries, the chief military division.

§ 7. **Etruriae opposuit**, 'he posted to command Etruria.'

§ 8. **ad Mecium.** Near the Mecius, the name being Lanuvium ad Mecium, probably a hill in the neighbourhood of Lanuvium.

§ 9. **Camillus auditus imperator**, 'the news that Camillus was in command.' For the participial construction see Excursus.

§ 10. **obiectam**, 'raised against him,' 'that barred the way.'

§ 11. **ut fuerit**, 'that there (actually) was.' For the tense see Excurs. p. 25.

superantibus in castra. Cf. 'consternari ad arma, in fugam' 7. 42. 3.

§ 12. **impetu** = αὐτοβοεί, 'at a rush,' cp. 5. 6. 8.

quo minus . . . eo; proportion: 'the less hoped for . . . the more gratifying.' Camillus' disposition of the plunder taken from Veii had caused his exile, 5. 32. 8 'die dicta propter Veientanam praedam;' 5. 22. 1 'libera corpora vendidit: ea sola pecunia in publicum redigitur, haud sine ira plebis.'

§ 13. **septuagesimo demum**, 'after seventy years of warfare.' It is hard to see why Livy chooses this period; as early as 495 B.C. Cp 2. 23. 1 'bellum Volscum imminebat,' which would be more than 100 years previous to the present date, 389 B.C.

§ 14. **et ipsos**, 'who also.'

ad Bolas, 'near' = apud. Supra 8 'ad Mecium.'

Chap. 3. § 1. **ingruerat**; 5. 32. 7 'ingruente fato.'

§ 2. **Sutrium, socios.** For similar apposition cp. infra 6. 13 'nova haec cura, Latini atque Hernici moverint;' 9. 1 'rei maiori, Antio, imminebat;' 13. 7 'principes quidam iuventutis inventi, manifesta fides;' and supra 5. 32. 7 'humanam opem, quae una erat, M. Furium.'

tulere = received a resolution. Cp. 'responsum ferre.'

primo quoque tempore, 'as soon as possible.'

§ 3. **Cuius spei moram**; we should say, 'Could not wait for the fulfilment of this hope, this promise.'

inermis . . . emissa. Sing., as in strict grammatical sense it goes with 'paucitas.'

cum singulis vestimentis, 'with one garment apiece.'

§ 4. **necessitate expressam**, 'the address of the leading men, wrung from them by the cruellest necessity, was followed by the weeping of women and children;' for 'excepit' cp. 6. 33. 11.

se . . . ferre. Oratio Obliqua, as very frequently, added on to a phrase preceding, to explain or give a reason for it.

Chap. 3.

§ 5. **expedito,** 'unencumbered.'

ad Sutrium. Rather with 'invenit' than with 'profectus:' 'he found everything near Sutrium just as he expected, disorganised.'

§ 7. **quisque tenderent.** The Latin idiom is the same as the English: 'when they made their way, each for himself, to the gates.'

se eiicere = to rush out, a common phrase: 1. 40. 7 'ambo se foras eiiciunt.'

§ 8. **quos forte,** 'whom this sudden attack had found sword in hand.'

accensum ab desperatione, 'and it would have been fought with fury by reason of the enemy's desperate position.' Cp. 2. 47. 6 'Ita desperatio Tuscis rabiem magis quam audaciam accendit.' For 'ab' cp. infra 4. 8.

§ 9. **quibus,** 'those who had desperately resolved to fight to the death.'

quod, 'a condition which chance had made safer.'

§ 10. **in custodias,** 'among guard-parties.'

Chap. 4.

§ 1. **trium.** Volsci, 2. 8 seq.; Aequi, 2. 14, and Etrusci.

§ 2. **sub hasta venundatis** (venum do), 'sold as slaves (by auction).' Cp. 'sub corona,' 5. 22. 1.

redactum est, 'was realised.' Cp. Hor. Epod. 2. 69:—

'Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam;'

'got in.' Cp. 5. 16. 7.

pretio, 'after paying to the matronae the value of the gold' which they had collected, 5. 50. 7, for the ransom demanded by the Gauls ('a matronis collatum acceperant').

§ 3. **Capitolium incensum:** B. C. 83. Cf. Tac. Ann. 6. 12, where the date is wrongly placed in the Social War, which ended in B. C. 88.

constat = we know.

§ 4. **in civitatem accepti**; cp. infra 5. 8.

§ 5. **aedificandi Romae pigritia,** 'too idle to build at Rome.'

fremitus, 'murmuring,' 'grumbling;' infra 6. 17 of joy, 'patres gaudio fremunt;' and so of a murmur of assent, Virg. Aen. 1. 559 'cuncti simul ore fremebant.'

praestituta, fixed in advance, i. e. 'a future date was fixed.'

capitalis poena. Punishments inflicted by law affected the 'caput' or social and civil status of a 'civis' in two ways. The status consisted of 'libertas,' 'civitas,' 'familia.' A change of 'familia' (e. g. by adoption or enfranchisement) was called 'minima capitis deminutio.' The common result of a penal sentence (e. g. 'deportatio,' 'aqua et igni interdictio') was the loss of 'civitas,' the 'media deminutio.' The 'maxima' occurred in the case of those 'qui servi poenae efficiuntur,' e. g. freedmen condemned to slavery for ingratitude towards their 'patronus.'

Chap. 4. § 5. qui non, 'to any one who (by that date) should not have returned.'

ex ferocibus, 'reduced this headstrong union one by one to obedience, each man being afraid for himself.'

§ 6. **admonebat**, 'their wants made them feel the advantage' (of so working).

§ 8. **victos.** The Aequi again appear, 9. 45, at war with Rome.

ab odio. The preposition partly to reply to '*ad* bellum,' and also = propter odium. Cp. supra 3. 8.

§ 10. **labor** = siege, attack.

senis horis. The ablative is used to express the interval at which one division relieved another.

integro certamini = fresh combatants.

§ 11. **in orbem**, 'in turn;' cp. 5. 19. 11, where the same arrangement is adopted. The phrase has nothing to do with 'in orbem pugnare,' 'to fight in circular formation.'

imperium, &c., 'the order was issued too late after this resolution (had been taken).'

per invidiam, 'could not be taken from them without exciting ill-feeling.'

§ 12. **substructum**, 'foundations were laid.'

saxum quadratum, 'masonry of rectangular blocks: the most primitive among existing methods of building in Rome.' Prof. Middleton, Ancient Rome in 1885, p. 25.

vel in hac, 'even in the present.'

Chap. 5. § 1. **frequentare**, 'to bring numbers to their harangues,' 'to make their meetings crowded.

legibus agrariis. Instrumental ablative.

§ 2. **Pomptinus ager.** The district near the old Pometia, inundated by the rivers Amasenus and Ufens, is still called the Pontine Marsh; Juv. 3. 307. It had been partly occupied by the Romans at an early date, cp. 2. 25, and re-conquered by the Volscians.

possessionis haud ambiguae = 'a district which they could now occupy without dispute.'

§ 3. **ab nobilitate**, 'by reason of the nobles' conduct.'

§ 4. **grassari**, 'rushed violently, like robbers.' Cp. 2. 12. 15 'trecenti coniuravimus principes iuventutis Romanae, ut in te hac via grassaremur;' and Juv. 3. 305 'grassator (footpad) agit rem.'

nec, &c., 'and that there would be no room left for the plebeians unless a partition was made before they seized it all.'

§ 5. **Haud magno opere**, 'they made no particular impression on.'

eodem, 'from the same reason.'

instruendum, 'to stock (the land).'

vires = copiae; cp. 23. 41. 6 (Weiss.).

Chap. 5.

§ 8. **duumviro**, 'commissioner' in the singular, as 'quinquevir,' 'decemvir,' though the name itself implies more than one.

novi cives; supra 4. 4. Weissenborn notes that these tribes are not gentile in name, like the earlier ones, but local.

Chap. 6.

§ 3. **Res . . . rediit**, 'the government again came.'

§ 4. **curae hominum**, 'general attention.'

attulit; the regular word for bringing news; supra 2. 2 'mercatores afferebant.'

§ 5. **eo abnuentes**, 'asserting that this was not action on the part of the state on the ground that.'

§ 6. **Desierant**, i. e. since the reverse occasioned by their disregard of the Gallic invasion.

quippe = enim, especially in Oratio Obliqua, as in this sentence.

collegae fateri. Historic infinitive, as supra 'senatus agere.'

§ 7. **confusus animo**, 'deeply affected,' 'touched.'

§ 8. **Ingens . . . magnum . . . maximum**, form the steps in his climax—'serious, important, most important of all.'

sibi with **iniungi.**

tam honorato. In 27. 10. 6 'honoratissimo decreto' = honorificentissimo, 'complimentary;' and this, though very rare, might be the meaning here: otherwise = which he respected very much. Weissenborn takes it in the former way.

§ 9. **certantem secum ipsum.** Cp. Cicero to Dolabella, ad Fam. 9. 14. 6 'te imitere oportet, tecum ipse certes.'

tanto . . . sit, 'this unanimous expression of feeling on the part of the community, which he valued very highly;' 'tanto consensu' qualifies 'opinionem,' 'an opinion so strong and unanimous.'

§ 10. **ut . . . sic** = while . . . still.

ab invidia; supra 4. 8, &c. Here 'invidia' and 'odio' are almost personified by this use of the preposition.

§ 13. **intentum, sive**, 'ready for action, in the event either of a rising in Etruria, or of the Latins and Hernici, our new difficulty. For the apposition cp. supra 3. 2, note.

moverint, 'of hostile movement,' elliptical for 'moverint se.' Cp. 21. 52. 4 'modo ne quid moverent.'

patre; cp. 4. 21, 46.

avo; 3. 6.

§ 14. **causariis.** In medical language = sick, diseased: here of soldiers, 'invalided.' Dig. 3. 2. 2 'quae propter valetudinem laboribus militiae solvit.'

quaeque alia: object, 'and all else which the necessities of war demand.'

§ 15. **praesidem**, 'president;' because it was necessary that some

Chap. 6. one of the highest officials for the year should be in the senate to propose measures, &c. He is not named 'Praefectus urbi,' cp. 4. 31. 1, but all the usual business is assigned to him; he could convoke the senate, 3. 9. 6, attend to religious ceremonies, hold the comitia, perform judicial functions, 3. 24. 2.

§ 16. **benigne**, 'loyally.'

pro dictatore. Cp. 'proconsul,' 'propraetor.'

§ 17. **proinde . . . haberent**, 'therefore let them have.' Impf. subj. of Oratio Obliqua for the imperative.

§ 18. **iuxta**, 'alike ready to obey or command;' ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι.

conferentes in medium, 'contributing to the common stock rather than drawing from it.'

Chap. 7. § 1. **ex nova subole** = of the younger generation.

§ 2. **restitantes**, 'loitering,' 'hesitating.' Found also in the Elder Pliny. See Excurs. p. 22.

quin, 'and further,' 'nay even.'

centenis, 'a hundred each.'

§ 3. **materia.** Cic. Mil. 35 'Clodium segetem ac materiam gloriae suae;' Tac. Hist. 4. 76 'Gallos quid aliud quam praedam victoribus.'

§ 4. **ut . . . taceam**, 'to say nothing of.'

modo; see above ch. 4 and 5.

triumphum agere ex = triumphare de.

§ 5. **in vos**, 'over you.'

neque enim, 'for assuredly the dictatorship never supplied me with courage, just as even exile did not take it from me.'

§ 6. **Simul**, 'at the first charge.'

quisque, 'every man, on both sides, among you and among the enemy's ranks.'

Chap. 8. § 2. **Quod ubi**; but when, cp. 'quod si.'

ad munera corporis. Cp. Cic. de Off. 1. 123 'senibus autem labores corporis minuendi.'

pro se quisque. The repetition ('clamor, clamantes') and the phrase are used to mark the enthusiasm of the soldiery.

§ 3. **Emissum . . . ferunt**, 'it is said that the standard was thrown.'

antesignanos. These were the troops who fought in front of the standards, at the beginning of a battle, the 'hastati.' See note on the Roman army, p. 31. Cp. 9. 39. 7 'cadunt antesignani, et ne nudentur propugnatoribus signa, fit ex secunda prima acies.'

§ 4. **primam . . . aciem**, includes 'hastati' and 'principes' and 'subsidiarii' = 'triarii.'

§ 5. **movebat** = summovebat hostem, 'drove the enemy back.'

excitata, 'roused to enthusiasm.'

Chap. 8.

forte oblata, 'when it came before them.' Virg. Aen. 2. 340 'oblati per lunam.'

§ 6. **arrepto equo**; supra 1 'ex equo desilit.'

conspectu: passive = § 5 'oblata species.'

§ 7. **conficienda** with **multitudo**. 'So great a number of the enemy had to be cut down with ceaseless courage by the wearied soldiers.'

§ 8. **quietis Romanis**, 'without any action of the Romans.'

malis consiliis, 'having met with an issue as sorry as their misguided policy.'

§ 9. **quorum fiducia**, 'on whom they had trusted when they rebelled.'

§ 10. **minus . . . quam ut in eo**, 'thinking the enemy had too little courage to make it necessary, in dealing with them ("in eo"), to wait for a victory which would take long to win.'

victoriam . . . esse, 'and telling them that.'

Chap. 9.

§ 1. **rei maiori, Antio**; supra 3. 2, note.

proximi: just concluded, 'the late campaign.

nisi magno. The town was built on a rock running far into the sea, 2. 63, 65.

§ 3. **credo**. Livy's own religious feelings are not often put forward in this manner. 'I suppose that the gods willed the state of Antium to stand for some time longer.'

dis cordi; infra 20. 16; 1. 39. 4.

brevem occasionem, 'a short opportunity;' i. e. saying that help must be given directly, if it is to be of use.

petentes = petituri, cp. Aen. 1. 519 'orantes veniam.'

eo, in this direction = in Etruriam.

§ 4. **opposita**, 'commanded.'

claustra, 'bulwark,' key of Etruria; repeated 9. 32. 1, speaking of this same town Sutrium. The word is used of a town or fortress which commands a country. Cp. Tac. Ann. 2. 69.

illis, 'Etruscis.'

cura erat, 'they were anxious.'

§ 5. **cum Camillo agi**, 'overtures,' 'suggestions to be made to Camillus.'

Quinctius. Cincinnatus, supra 7. 14, had the charge of the 'causarii milites' and 'seniores.'

§ 6. **expertum**, passive.

depoposcit, 'he insisted upon having.'

§ 7. **intersaeptis** = with the roads blockaded.

§ 9. **non tanta spe**, 'not so much in the hope.

aversis eo, 'being directed to that quarter.'

§ 11. **Furianis** = the soldiers with Camillus (M. Furius).

Chap. 10. § 2. **fidemque**, 'and furnish the loyal aid which they had asked from the Romans.'

§ 3. **unde** = a quibus.

nihil suae, 'that nothing was in their own control.'

terror est admotus, 'an attempt was made to frighten.'

§ 4. **postquam erat**, 'finding that the observance of their surrender was more sacred to them than their alliance.'

§ 5. **auctores**, 'ring-leaders.'

securi percussi, 'beheaded,' 'executed.'

multitudini, 'populace,' 'inhabitants.' Cp. 1. 29. 1 'Inter haec iam praemissi Albam erant equites, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam.'

cum praesidio, like the Greek ἔχων = ita ut praesidium haberet.

§ 6. **res repetitae**, 'satisfaction,' 'restitution was demanded.'

ex instituto, 'according to arrangement,' 'according to law.'

§ 7. **frequenti concilio**, 'by a largely attended gathering.'

apud Volscos, supra 7. 1.

§ 8. **pravi consilii**, 'misguided conduct;' cp. supra 8. 8 'malis consiliis pares adepti eventus.'

quam pestem . . . nequisse, 'a curse which clung to them and could not be got rid of by all the wars that had been waged) one after the other.' Compare our 'a thorn in the side.' The accusative and infinitive of Oratio Obliqua because 'quam' = et (dixerunt) eam.

§ 9. **magis tempus**, &c., 'when this was laid before the senate, it seemed to furnish good grounds, but not a good opportunity for war.'

Chap. 11. § 1. **seditio**, 'treason.'

§ 2. **unde**, &c., 'from a source from which it would never have been feared.'

inclitae; cp. Greek κλύω, κλυτός, Latin 'clueo.'

Capitolino; 5. 47.

§ 3. **nimius animi**. 'Nimius' is also used with genitive in 3. 26. 12 'imperii nimium virum;' Tac. Hist. 3. 75 'sermonis nimius erat.' Cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 61 'fidens animi.'

sperneret . . . invideret. Note the asyndeton, 'despised and envied.'

§ 4. **habeat pro**, 'treat as.' The presents and perfects of the subjunctive, as before noted, are characteristic of Livy's style.

quum interim = and that too when.

§ 5. **solutis in spem**, 'enervated by the hope of peace;' 44. 25. 10 'malebat in spem Romanae pacis non recusare impensam.'

illius . . . virilis, 'the lion's share of Camillus' glory belonged to.'

apud = penes, Sall. Cat. 20. 8 'divitiae apud illos sunt.'

Chap. 11.

§ 6. **ad hoc**, 'further.'

vitio ingenii, 'by a weakness of character.'

impotens, 'violent,' 'excitable,' lit. 'wanting in control.' See Index.

§ 7. **primus omnium**, 'the very first patrician who had espoused the popular cause.' Valerius 2. 8 and Cassius 2. 41 are described as 'populares,' but their attitude to the patricians was less aggressive (W.). 4. 13, Sp. Maelius was 'ex equestri ordine.'

popularis almost corresponds to our 'democratic:' in this sense Marius and Caesar were 'populares.' Cicero ably distinguishes this party from the optimates, and defines both, Pro Sest. 45. 96 'Duo genera in hac civitate semper fuerunt . . . alteri se populares, alteri optimates et haberi et esse voluerunt. Qui ea, quae faciebant, multitudini iucunda esse volebant, populares habebantur.'

aura. Cp. 22. 26. 4 'aura favoris popularis.' Virg. Aen. 6. 817 'Ancus . . . nimium gaudens popularibus auris.'

§ 8. **fidem moliri**, 'to tamper with credit.'

quippe, 'for he knew that.' Cp. supra 6. 6.

qui minentur, 'seeing that they threaten,' 'threatening as they do.'

nervo: infra 15. 9 'eximendo de nervo cives vestros.' Weissenborn quotes Festus, p. 165 'nervum appellamus ferreum vinculum quo pedes impediuntur,' and the law of the Twelve Tables 'aeris confessi rebusque iure iudicatis xxx dies iusti sunto, post deinde manus iniectio esto, in ius ducito . . . vincito aut nervo aut compedibus, quindecim pondo ne minore aut si volet maiore, vincito.'

§ 9. **re damnosissima**, 'brought about by an undertaking, which is most ruinous even to the rich, that is, building.'

contracta with **vis**, Cic. ad Q. Fratr. 1. 1. 25 'aes alienum contrahere.'

in speciem causae, 'was put forward by way of pretext.'

maior potestas, i. e. 'dictatura.'

§ 10. **nova**, 'revolutionary.' Cf. 'res nova,' 'revolution.'

magis, 'more than the war.'

Chap. 12.

§ 1. **ad bellum**, with 'opus erat,' prompt action was necessary to meet the war.

dictaturae ipsi, 'even to the dictatorship.'

§ 2. **non dubito**, &c. Livy's own criticism is valuable, especially as he rarely digresses for this purpose. In his Preface he shows himself keenly alive to the fact that the early history is not so likely to attract his readers as that part which dealt with the later days of the Republic. The enumeration of wars, constantly recurring and apparently never

Chap. 12. ended, is apt to become monotonous even in the hands of so skilful a writer; and the wonder is that he is able to vary the picture so graphically in spite of constant repetition.

§ 2. **tot iam libris**, 'in all these books.'

legentibus, dative, 'to those who read.'

percensenti, 'as I examined the writers who were more nearly contemporaneous with the events.' The chief authorities followed by Livy for the early history were Claudius Quadrigarius, Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, Aelius Tubero.

§ 3. **tacitum**, 'in silence,' 'uncriticised.'

cuius . . . sim, 'what can I adduce except a suggestion, such as all who conjecture are free to make for themselves.'

§ 4. **nunc** = hodie, 'in our own times.'

alia atque alia, 'successive generations as they sprang up.'

populis . . . gens; cp. 4. 49. 3 'suae gentis populo:' ibid. 56. 5 'utriusque gentis populos' (Weiss.).

§ 5. **locis quae**, 'in those districts which in our own time our slaves only save from being a desert, where scarcely a miserable recruiting ground for soldiers remains.' The system of buying up small properties, and combining them into large estates worked by slave-gangs, ruined the peasant proprietors of Italy. Tib. Gracchus endeavoured to break up this system and re-establish the yeomen through the country; but his efforts were unsuccessful. For other references to the Italy of his day cp. 6. 4. 12; 7. 2. 13; 7. 29. 2; 7. 25. 9.

servitia: used both in singular and plural = servi. Cp. Tac. Ann. 4. 6 'modesta servitia.'

§ 6. **quod . . . conveniat**, 'so far as is agreed.' The subjunctive expresses a limit, cp. 5. 34. 6.

accisae; 5. 2 'post accisas a Camillo Volscorum res.'

Velitrae; 2. 31. 4 'Volscis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus: Velitras coloni ab urbe missi et colonia deducta;' ibid. 34. 6 'Velitris auxere numerum colonorum Romani.'

§ 7. **adorare**. Usually with accusative of the person addressed; 38. 43. 6 'quos adorent, ad quos precentur et supplicent.'

§ 8. **pilis**. The 'pilum' was the heavy javelin of the Roman infantry with which they usually began an action; 9. 19. 7 'pilum haud paulo quam hasta vehementius ictu missuque telum.'

velim, 'I would not have you.'

obnixos, 'steady,' 'resolute.'

§ 9. **micent**: of swords, 1. 25. 4; of javelins, &c. 21. 7. 8.

secundis avibus; supra § 7 'auspicato.'

miserint, 'vos,' or 'Romanum.'

§ 10. **intentus ad**, 'watching for the first sign of the beginning of the battle.'

Chap. 12.

collato pede, 'at close quarters;' cp. 'collatis signis.'

terrorem equestrem, 'charge with your cavalry and affright them while engaged in the struggle with the infantry.'

Chap. 13.

§ 1. **nulli rei.** Livy is apparently the only writer who uses the dative after 'fretus;' infra 31. 6 'discordiae hostium fretus.'

temere, 'in disorder.'

§ 2. **collatum pedem**: supra 12. 10: Virg. Aen. 10. 361 'haeret pede pes, densusque viro vir' (Weiss.).

§ 3. **frons prima**: 'antesignani,' 8. 8. 6 (Weiss.).

suum = their usual, their natural dismay.

§ 4. **donec**; with impf. 'so long as.'

peditum labor, 'the task of pursuing them fell on the infantry.'

in singulorum, 'by stopping to cut down individuals.'

multitudini, 'the main body.'

§ 5. **satis esse.** Part of the dictator's order to the soldiers, the infinitive being that of Oratio Obliqua.

iusta caede, 'and completely cut them to pieces.' Cp. 'iustum proelium,' 'iusta victoria.'

§ 7. **ut credi** = in which case (had they all been 'de plebe') it might have been believed that they were hired to fight.

principes iuventutis; 2. 20. 11.

manifesta fides, 'an indisputable proof.' For the apposition see on 3. 2 supra. Virgil takes the same phrase, Aen. 2. 309 'Tum vero manifesta fides' = the truth is evident; and cp. 21. 13. 3.

§ 8. **cogniti** = agniti. Weissenborn explains, 'known for what they really were,' infra 25. 1.

haud perplexe, 'stated to the patres without disguise what they had told to the dictator, each the revolt of his own nation.'

populi: 'populus' is here and elsewhere (cp. 8. 37. 9) used by Livy not only of independent states, but of colonies. Weissenborn quotes Servius, 'colonia est pars civium aut sociorum missa, ubi rem publicam habeant.'

Chap. 14.

§ 1. **dubius.** Usually with 'quin' or a relative clause following; the accusative and infinitive is rare.

moles, 'trouble,' 'disturbance.'

solito magis metuendam, 'more formidable than usual' ('solitum,' subst.), i. e. than when tribunes raised agitations.

§ 2. **in speciem**, 'apparently, but at the same time revolutionary, to one who considered the intention with which they were done.'

§ 3. **Centurionem.** Cp. 2. 23. 4, followed by the first secession of

Chap. 14. the plebs, B.C. 495-494. 'Magno natu quidam . . . ordines duxisse aiebant.'

§ 3. **pecuniae.** Genitive after 'iudico,' like 'capitis damnare, iudicare;' 26. 3. 8 'quoad vel capitis vel pecuniae iudicasset privato.'

duci; sc. 'in carcerem,' 'in vincula;' infra § 4.

manum iniecit. As in the formal manner of arrest, cp. 3. 44. 6 'Virgini . . . manum iniecit.' The 'addictus,' being a slave, could only be released by a 'civis' becoming his 'vindex.'

§ 5. **rem,** 'the debt.'

palam; with ablative like 'coram.'

libraque et aere. The solemn form of payment, as in the case of a purchase of 'res mancipi.' The money was placed in the scales, held by a 'libripens,' and weighed. Weissenborn quotes Gaius 3. 174 'Adhibentur autem non minus quam quinque testes et libripens: deinde is qui liberatur ita oportet loquatur: quod ego tibi tot millibus eo nomine — debeo, solvo liberoque hoc aere aeneaque libra.'

§ 6. **cicatrices.** Cp. 2. 23. 4 'ipse testes honestarum aliquot locis pugnarum cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat.'

§ 7. **multiplici iam sorte,** 'having repaid the capital (of his loan) many times over, while the interest constantly swamped the capital.'

videre; for the omission of the subject cp. Excurs. p. 25.

lucem; opposed to the darkness of the 'ergastulum.'

opera, 'by the service of.'

§ 8. **parentium,** 'all the kindnesses one receives from parents.'

quodcunque with **iuris.** 'All the ties which have bound him to his country and to the gods of his country and his family, now bind him to Manlius alone.'

§ 9. **unius hominis.** For the genitive cp. 3. 36. 7.

alia . . . res, 'another act of this policy, over-excited and ready to upset everything.'

§ 10. **caput patrimonii,** 'the principal part of his property.' Cic. de Lege Agr. 1. 7. 21 'caput patrimonii publici.'

subiecit praeconi, 'placed in the hands of the auctioneer, for sale.'

addictum, 'condemned,' 'given up (as slave) to his creditor.'

§ 11. **omisso,** &c.; 'regardless whether his utterance were true or false.'

iaceret: the subjunctive is constantly used thus, especially after 'incertus;' for 'utrum' omitted cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 390:—

'Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?'

iecit, 'he threw out,' 'he hinted.' Cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 98:—

'Spargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas.'

nisi, 'unless they also appropriate.'

§ 12. **videri**: historic infinitive for indicative.

Chap. 14.

tributo: by a tax, which weighed on all. See note on 5. 10. 3.

cessisse in, 'had been turned to,' or 'merged in.' Cp. Tac. Ann. 1. 1 'Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere.'

§ 13. **exsequebantur**, 'they followed it up with the inquiry.'

nec veri indicii, 'it was obvious that their gratitude, if his revelation proved true, would not be slight, or their disgust if it were false.' Supply 'mediam' to 'offensionem.'

Chap. 15.

§ 1. **discedere**; i. e. had insisted that they should accompany him.

§ 2. **ea multitudine**, i. e. 'senatu.'

viatorem. The 'lictor' was the proper attendant of the consuls; 'viator' is a summoning officer employed by any official: cp. 2. 56. 13 'tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem, consul lictorem ad tribunum.'

§ 4. **conveniat**; impersonal, 'I wish there were such agreement.'

§ 5. **fide incolumi**, 'without shaking credit.' Cp. 11. 8.

occultent: subj. = which you say they conceal.

adhorter liberes: 'I urge you to release.'

incubantes, 'jealously guarding.' Petronius has a word 'incŭbo' (subst.) = a spirit that watches over buried treasures. Virg. Georg. 2. 507 'defossoque incubat auro;' Aen. 6. 610 'divitiis soli incubuere repertis.'

clandestinus. Corssen derives it from 'clam-dies-tinus,' comparing 'matutinus.'

§ 6. **vanum**, 'false,' 'groundless.'

§ 7. **nec se fefellisse**, 'that he had been well aware (that the dictator had been appointed to act against himself).'

§ 8. **patrocinium**; cp. 'patrocinor,' 'patronus,' = protection.

§ 9. **Quin diducitis**, 'why do you not take it from me?' Virg. Aen. 4. 99:—

> 'Quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos
> Exercemus?'

intercedendo: here either in its general sense = interpose, interfere: or, 'by being surety for them.'

eximendo, 'by paying their debts.'

nervo: supra 11. 8.

sustinendo, 'by ministering to the wants of others from your own superfluity of wealth.'

§ 10. **impendatis**: after 'hortor:' 'why do I urge you to spend your own money? Take the principal still left: subtract from the original loan the amount already paid in interest: the crowd that follows me will not be more conspicuous than that of any other man.'

§ 11. **At enim**, 'yes, but you ask,' introduces an objection; cp. 5. 53. 1.

nihilo, 'in no way have I anything more.'

§ 12. **ponatis**, 'give it up;' infra § 13 'in medium proferatis.'

Chap. 15. § 13. **Quo magis**, 'the more you order your tricks to be proved.'

non ego vobis, 'I am not to be forced by you to reveal your plunder, but you must be compelled to produce it:' 'in medium proferre,' as 'in medium conferre.' 'Id' is explained by 'ut . . . proferatis.'

Chap. 16. § 1. **cogeret**, 'insisted.'

insimulati, 'confess his guilt in falsely accusing the senate and bringing up the odium of a theft that did not exist.'

§ 2. **ceteri**. Weissenborn quotes Servius on Virg. Georg. 1. 21 'per pontifices in omnibus sacris post speciales deos, quos ad ipsum sacrum quod fiebat necesse erat invocari, generaliter omnia numina invocabantur.' Cp. 7. 26. 4.

sicine. The demonstrative suffix *i* (cp. οὑτοσί) is put in for emphasis; in 'huiuscemodi' we have the full form. The best editions print without doubling the *c*, after words which end in that consonant, infra 17. 3 'hocine.'

praesidem, 'protector,' 'guardian.'

§ 3. **ferebant**, 'could endure,' 'seemed likely to endure.'

sed invicta sibi, &c.; 'the people, always submissive to regular authority, had made some things inviolable for themselves' = inviolata (Weiss.).

nec audebant. Against the dictator the tribune's 'intercessio' and the 'provocatio ad populum' were fruitless; but see infra 38. 9.

hiscere, 'open their lips.' Juv. 5. 126:—

'si quid temptaveris unquam
Hiscere, tamquam habeas tria nomina.'

§ 4. **vestem mutasse**, the sign of mourning. So all persons accused put on 'sordida vestis,' and endeavoured by their appearance to excite the compassion of their 'iudices.'

§ 5. **triumphavit**, before his triumph the dictator had entered the city, which was never done in the time of the later Republic.

actum, 'won;' supra 7. 4 'triumphum egistis.'

unum tantum, 'the only feature.'

§ 6. **semisses**, 'a half,' 'semi-As,' the 'As' being taken as the standard in all general measures or fractional parts. Cp. 'heres ex semisse.'

§ 8. **sordibus et facie**; supra 4, 'with the pitiful garb and appearance of accused persons.'

Chap. 17. § 1. **exprobrantium**, 'of those who taunted the people.'

praecipitem locum, 'dangerous height.'

§ 2. **Sp. Cassius**; 2. 41.

Sp. Maelius; 4. 13–16.

§ 3. **Saginare.** Oratio Obliqua after 'exprobrantium,' 'that the

plebs fattened their champions.' The word is used of animals and of gladiators; cp. Cic. Sest. 36. 78, Aristoph. Eq. 1127:— **Chap. 17.**

κλέπτοντά τε βούλομαι
τρέφειν ἕνα προστάτην·
τοῦτον δ', ὅταν ᾖ πλέως,
ἄρας ἐπάταξα.

vir consularis, 'an ex-consul;' 5. 47. 4 'qui triennio ante consul fuerat.'

Fingerent, '(let them) grant,' 'suppose.'

§ 4. **Non obversatam.** Question, of 3rd person, therefore infinitive, 'Had not the recollection . . . occurred to them?'

§ 5. **Selibrisne farris**; 5. 47. 8 'cui universi selibras farris et quartarios vini ad aedes eius contulerunt.'

pati. The question would strictly be 'paterentur;' the infinitive is perhaps interjectional, 'to think that they allowed,' or it may be attracted by the neighbouring infinitives. See Excursus, p. 25.

ducere animam; so 'ducere vitam,' 'spiritum' are used: 'to live in hourly danger of the executioner's caprice.'

adeo = could it be true that while one man had saved all, so many could not avail to save one.

§ 6. **remisso**: the subject 'eo' is omitted, as often; 'that, which they meant to take, was conceded.'

§ 7. **simul.** Frequently thus used by the poets and Tacitus.

purgantibus, 'offering to excuse.'

tristia, 'stern.' See Index.

cives Romani would be tried by Roman laws, and therefore *suis legibus* would not be correct. But as Circeii and Velitrae were Latin colonies, founded by Rome and the Latin League, their inhabitants were not strictly 'Romani cives.'

§ 8. **in quo . . . tamen**, lit. 'and this was a point in which they had let the allies alone.' It refers to the threat which follows.

facesserent propere, 'make all haste to depart.' Cp. the language of the Veientians to the Roman envoys, 4. 58. 7.

externo, non civi. The 'civis' at war would be a rebel, and not entitled to the rights of a 'iustus hostis.'

§ 1. **Recrudescente.** For a similar metaphor cp. 10. 19. 20 'paulisper recruduit pugna.' **Chap. 18.**

sub exitum. The Ides (13th) of December being the 'sollemnis ineundis magistratibus dies,' 5. 9. 3.

§ 2. **expugnare**; 9. 26. 15 'expugnare quaestiones' (Weiss.).

§ 3. **aliquanto acrior**, 'with much more vigour;' infra 'plenior aliquanto.'

Chap. 18. § 4. **nec . . . et**; 'on the one hand (the dictator had not dared) . . . while on the other,' &c. Cp. 5. 51. 1.

§ 5. **Quousque tandem.** The opening of the first Oratio in Catilinam is parallel.

voluit, 'has decreed.'

beluas. Properly of beasts distinguished for size, ferocity, &c. As distinguishing men from other animals, cp. Cic. de Off. 1. 30. 105 'quantum natura hominis pecudibus ceterisque beluis antecedat.'

§ 6. **Si singuli**, i.e. if your numbers were not greater than theirs.

quoteni: distributive; 'as many as you have been, each as dependant waiting on his individual patron:' 'quot enim' (Weiss.).

§ 7. **remittent**: as in 'reddere,' the prefix implies 'giving what is due,' not necessarily 'giving back.' Cp. 17. 6.

§ 8. **Ipse**, &c., 'I, your champion, was in a moment undone, as soon as my enemies so pleased.' Cp. Plaut. Cas. 2. 4. 26 'si id factum est, ecce me nullum senem.'

§ 9. **Bene facitis**, &c.: implying expressions of dissent on the part of his audience. Cp. Cic. Phil. 6. 12 'Negatis? . . . rursum reclamatis? . . . clamori enim vestro assentior.'

abominamini = express your horror.

armato togatoque, 'as a soldier and a citizen,' cp. 25. 7.

§ 10. **auxilium . . . satis**: the plebs are content with the 'auxilium' of their tribunes, instead of demanding a share in the 'imperium.'

usu possidemini – 'you are the slaves of habit.' Weissenborn translates 'you allow yourselves to be mastered through force of habit.' Cp. 1. 46. 1 'Servius, quamquam iam usu haud dubie regnum possederat.'

§ 11. **imperare illis aequum.** Cp. Preface 7 'tam et hoc gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo, quam imperium patiuntur.'

hos, 'patres.'

§ 13. **qui imperet** = a ruler.

qui resisterent, i.e. tribunes of the plebs, first elected B.C. 494 after the first secession, 2. 33. 1.

§ 14. **patronum . . . plebis.** Cic. Phil. 6. 12 'xxxv tribus patrono. Populi Romani igitur est patronus L. Antonius.' Aurelius Victor says that Manlius was called 'patronus' after he saved the Capitol; Livy does not mention it, 5. 47 (Weiss.).

§ 15. **utemini**, 'employ,' 'find.'

§ 16. **agendi de**, 'aiming at.'

Chap. 19. § 1. **secessio.** The first secession was in 494 B.C., 2. 32; the second in 449 B.C., 3. 50 seq., after the 'decemvirate.'

in arce positam. Compare the 'invidia' against the consul Valerius (2. 7. 5, &c.), 'quia aedificabat in summa Velia;' and 3. 15 seq.

Chap. 19.

libertati: dative after 'imminenti,' 'the danger that threatened freedom.'

§ 2. **Servilius Ahala**; 4. 14. 6 'Haec cum (Sp. Maelium) vociferantem assecutus Ahala Servilius obtruncat,' B.C. 439.

§ 3. **ut videant, &c.** The well-known formula 'quae forma senatus consulti ultimae semper necessitatis habita est,' 3. 4. 9) by which the magistrates were entrusted with indefinite power to suppress insurrection, &c. as they thought fit. Cp. Cic. Cat. 1. 2. 4.

§ 4. **plebi.** The genitive is indifferently written 'plebis,' 'plebi,' and 'plebei.' This union of tribunes of the plebs with the patrician magistrates is significant of the way in which the tribunate became afterwards an instrument of senatorial government.

§ 5. **ingentis . . . fore**, 'would cause, result in, a fearful struggle.'

§ 6. **Quid, &c.**; 'Why do we make that, which ought to be a struggle of the community against, &c. . . . . , a struggle between patrician and plebeian?'

cum plebe goes with *eum*.

suis ipse . . . ruat. Cp. Preface 4 'iam magnitudine laboret sua . . . praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt;' and Hor. Epod. 16. 2:—

'Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.'

§ 7. **regnum.** Cp. 2. 2. 5 'iusiurandum populi recitat, neminem regnare passuros.' Cic. Rep. 2. 30. 53 'pulso Tarquinio nomen regis audire non poterat populus Romanus.' So the emperors never assumed the title of king.

ex advocatis, 'instead of supporters have become judges.' Cp. Soph. Oed. Tyr. 454 τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος.

de plebe corresponds to *patricium*: 5. 39. 13 'de plebe multitudo.'

patricium, 'and when they see that the prosecutors are of the plebs and the accused is a patrician, and that the charge of (aiming at) kingship is before them.' The apodosis begins at 'nulli.'

nulli, 'no man (in preference to).' Livy and Caesar commonly use the dative of 'nullus' as substantive. Cicero almost always has 'nemini' (Weiss.).

Chap. 20.

§ 1. **sordidatum**; supra 16. 4, 8.

§ 2. **cognatos**, relatives connected by ties of blood.

affines, relatives by marriage: as defined in the Digest—socer, socrus, gener, nurus, noverca, &c.

quod: explained by 'ut . . . mutarent,' a thing which had never been customary, that even one's nearest kin should not go into mourning.

§ 3. **C. Claudium**; 3. 58 'C. Claudius, qui perosus decemvirorum scelera et ante omnes fratris filii superbiae infestus . . . sordidatus prensabat singulos,' &c.

Chap. 20. § 3. **fuisse.** The inf. is used because he is giving the reflections of the people.

opprimi, 'while now (they said) a friend of the people was being suppressed.'

§ 5. **nec dubito.** 'Still, I am sure that they were convincing.'

loco; infra 10, they were in the Campus Martius, from which the Capitoline Hill was visible.

quae et quanta, 'how the greatest distinctions.'

§ 6. **expensas . . . tulisset.** Literally, he had put down (to their accounts) moneys expended, 'to whom he had granted loans.'

venire, from 'veneo.'

§ 7. **ad xxx.** 'to the number of . . .'

murales, civicas coronas. The mural crown was given to the soldier who first scaled the walls of an enemy's city, 23. 18; the civic crown to one who saved the life of a 'civis' in battle and who killed the enemy at the same time.

§ 8. **pro fastigio rerum**, 'by way of climax.'

aequando, 'in language as brilliant as his deeds.' The gerund is frequently thus used, where the Greek would put a participle agreeing with the subject. Cp. Excurs. p. 23.

Capitolium atque arcem. The western and eastern peaks of the Capitoline hill. See note on 5. 39. 9.

§ 10. **centuriatim**; cp. 5. 1. 1 and 5. 52. 16. The sentence of death could only be passed by the 'comitia centuriata.'

§ 11. The Porta Flumentana, as its name implies, led to the Tiber, on the south side of the Capitol. The Via Aurelia led direct by this gate to the Janiculum.

unde . . . esset, the subjunctive expresses purpose.

obstinatis animis, 'with unflinching, stern resolution.'

§ 12. **perduellione.** In capital cases, where ultimately there would be an appeal to the people, the supreme magistrate did not pronounce judgment himself, but appointed certain persons for the purpose:

i. 'quaestores parricidii,' a standing body, who tried cases of murder and other crimes against private persons, which the community regarded as public.

ii. 'duoviri perduellionis,' appointed specially for any case of treason or crime against the state ('qui perduellionis reus est, hostili animo adversus rempublicam vel principem animatus est,' Digest). The only known cases are, the trial of P. Horatius under king Tullus Hostilius, Livy 1. 26; that of M. Manlius, and the trial of C. Rabirius in B.C. 63. Originally nominated by the magistrate, the duoviri came to be elected by the Comitia (Mommsen, Röm. Staatsr. ii. p. 598).

auctores sint, 'some who state that he was condemned.' The 'Tarpeia rupes' was part of the Capitoline cliff, which faced the *Forum Magnum*. **Chap. 20.**

ultimae, 'of death.'

§ 13. **notae**: after the analogy of the 'nota censoria,' the mark affixed by the censors to a name when they revised the lists of citizens.

officina Monetae = the Mint. 'Moneta' was a surname of Juno, in whose temple, on the Arx, money was coined, 7. 28. 4. Cic. de Dom. 38. 101 has a different account, 'Ergo eius (Manlii) domum eversam duobus lucis convestitam videtis;' Ov. Fast. 6. 184.

§ 14. **gentilicia**, 'inflicted by the gens of the Manlii.'

cautum est, 'provision was made.'

vir . . . nisi, &c.; cp. Tac. Hist. 1. 49 'omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset,' of Galba.

§ 15. **per se ipsas virtutes**, 'only his good qualities.'

occurrentibus, 'obvious.'

magnae parti, 'to most people.'

§ 1. **Pestilentiam**, 'famine followed on ("excepit") the plague, and several wars combined followed the report of famine and plague which had been circulated.' **Chap. 21.**

§ 2. **velut sorte quadam.** Compare the remarks supra 12. 2 seq.

exercendo; 21. 16. 4 'Sardos, etc. . . . lacessisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma;' and 39. 1. 2 'hostis velut natus ad continendam Romanis militarem disciplinam.'

Lanuvini . . . quae urbs: supra 3. 2 reff.

§ 4. **Nepete**, 'to Nepete,' accusative after *deducere*, the technical word for leading a colony.

§ 5. **iuberent**: as in the phrase 'populus iussit; patres auctores fiunt,' 1. 17. 9. Weissenborn calls the use of the plural here a rare sense-construction, quoting Ov. Fast. 11. 505 'placent pia turba Quirinum.'

§ 6. **eo inclinabat ut**, 'supported the policy of sending . . .'

supplex, 'to offer submission.'

§ 7. **ab Romanis** with **defectionis**.

piacula, 'victims,' 'peace offerings.'

§ 8. **in senatu**, i.e. of the colonies, Velitrae and Circeii; cp. 8. 14. 5; 9. 16. 5.

§ 9. **ita placide**, 'ita' expresses a limitation; cp. 5. 12. 4 'ita prospere.'

minus credi, 'it was obvious that they were only disinclined to believe, &c., because they wished them to be untrue.'

Chap. 22. § 1. **et si qui.** For the same kind of ellipse cp. 5. 1. 9 'auxiliis, si qua forte inde venirent.' Here = to meet any fresh risings that might be reported from Etruria.

§ 2. **ipsam** = ipsorum.

secundo . . . ita ut; we should say, 'with success so signal that . . .'

§ 3. **nuntiis** = news.

acriores in, 'more severely denouncing.'

§ 4. **iussu**; supra 21. 3, 5.

§ 6. For this L. Furius see the next two chapters.

extra ordinem, opposed to 'sorte,' means 'by special appointment,' cp. 30. 3, note.

e re publica, 'in accordance with the interests of the country.'

quam ut, 'ut' expresses a consequence.

et publice, 'both in his official capacity.'

gratiam eius, i. e. L. Furii.

§ 7. **exactae aetatis**: he died 16 years later, 7. 1. 8.

comitiis, 'at the election, the unanimous wish of the people had stopped him when ready to take the usual oath to plead ill-health.' Cp. 22. 40. 6 'Atilium aetatem excusantem Romam miserunt;' 9. 46. 2; 26. 22. 5.

vegetum. Cp. Greek *ὑγιής*, 'vigeo,' 'augeo.' The alliteration with the letter v is common; cp. Lucretius 5. 993:—

'Viva videns vivo sepeliri viscera busto.'

Virg. Aen. 6. 833:—

'Neu patriae validas in viscera vertite viris.'

§ 8. **quaternum** = quaternorum, 4000 each.

indicto ad, 'ordered (to be present) at.'

§ 9. **nihil dilaturi quin**, 'perfectly ready to risk a decisive engagement.'

hostium, i. e. the Romans.

unici, 'pre-eminent.'

Chap. 23. § 1. **altero**; L. Furius.

fortunam, 'hazard.'

ratione, 'by strategy.'

§ 2. **vallo prope**, 'marching almost close to the enemy's entrenchments.' 'Prope,' adverbial.

§ 3. **ferox**, 'impetuous.'

ex incertissimo, 'on grounds utterly baseless.'

§ 4. **elevando . . . aetate**, 'disparaging on the score of age,' 21. 4.

§ 5. **cunctatorem.** This epithet, applied to Q. Fabius Maximus,

became a term of honour to him. The line from Ennius, quoted by Cicero, and used by Virgil, is well known :— **Chap. 23.**

'Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.'

residem, 'inactive.' Virg. Aen. 7. 693 :—

'resides populos desuetaque bello
Agmina ;'

ibid. 6. 813.

quid . . . . sperantem ? 'and what addition did he hope would be made to his own strength or diminution from the enemy's ?'

§ 8. **averterat** ; from Camillus, 'had won over.'

sustinere impetum, 'resist the enthusiasm.'

unus omnibus, 'you are alone ; give way to (the wish of) all.' For the same collocation, Virg. Aen. 3. 716 :—

'intentis omnibus unus
Fata renarrabat divom.'

§ 10. **collegae imperium.** It was of the essence of the Roman magistracy that each member of a college had full imperium. In war, collision was generally avoided by division of the troops or of the sphere of action. In the last resort monarchy was restored by appointing a dictator.

§ 11. **id**, like 'illud,' frequently, referring to what follows ; 'this only.'

§ 12. **piae**, 'dutiful.' The prayer was 'pius' because of its respect to the gods, and also because it was devoted to secure the true interest of the country, 'patriotic.' 'Pius' is thus used of the relations of men to gods, to country, to parents ; and conversely, of gods to men, parents to children.

§ 1. **dolo**, 'by a feint.' **Chap. 24.**

§ 3. **sequendo pertractus**, 'lured, as they pursued the enemy, to this uneven ground ("Lenis ab tergo clivus," supra 2) was exposed to (a good mark for) this sortie.'

supina valle, 'because of the new enemy and the descent into the valley.' Virg. Georg. 2. 276 'collisque supinos,' and the same phrase 4. 46. 5 'per supinam vallem fusi.'

§ 4. **non recipiebat se**, 'was not simply retiring.'

ferociae, 'impetuosity,' 'enthusiasm ;' 'impetus militum,' 23. 8.

§ 5. **subiectus**, 'lifted into his saddle by those around him ;' 31. 37. 10 'eques pavidum regem in equum subiecit.'

illa . . . haec, 'the rashness *then* was your own—so is this cowardice *now*.'

§ 7. **tenuit effusos**, 'stopped their rush.'

circumagi signa, 'the standards face about.' For *signa* see Index.

plurimus labor. Tac. Ann. 1. 65 'plurimus circa aquilas labor.' Cp. πόνος of battles in Homer.

Chap. 24. § 7. **singuli . . . quisque**; the repetition is for effect, 'each and every,' 'one and all.'

§ 8. **rei**, 'the emergency.'

ad quam rem, 'his participation in the error had taken away his right to do this.'

totus. Cp. Hor. Sat. 1. 9. 2 :—

> 'Nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis.'

reum, 'responsible for the mishap of that day.' The genitive also goes with 'crimine:' we might say, 'rescue him from the charge of responsibility for,' &c.

§ 9. **in utraque**, 'whether you win or lose.'

§ 10. **in fluctuantem aciem**, 'best for the wavering army,' Weissenborn, who compares 37. 15. 7 'in duas res id usui fore;' 34. 6. 6 'alia in secundam, alia in adversam tempestatem usui sunt.' Muller reads 'in fluctuante acie,' which is much simpler.

tradi. Madvig (Emendationes) suggests 'optimum visum est . . non tradi equos.' The passage seems to imply that the cavalry were to dismount, and advance on foot: the following sentence shows that they went to help the infantry when the latter were in difficulties. **tradi** = handed to their servants. Weissenborn explains 'tradi equos et . . . = traditis equis invadere.'

nihil . . . animi, 'the courage of neither generals nor soldiers fell short of a supreme effort.'

§ 11. **sensit**, 'so the issue felt the support of vigorous bravery,' 'the effort told in the result.' Cp. 42. 3 'faciebat enixo studio.'

Chap. 25. § 1. **ubi quum** = et quum ibi.

Tusculani. Events are leading up to the great Latin War. Unfortunately, Livy has nothing but facts to supply; he does not furnish the causes which must have been at work to produce this general discontent. Already Velitrae, Circeii, Lanuvium, Praeneste have been mentioned as in revolt or suspected; and supra 21. 9, the Tusculani are mentioned as informing against the Praenestini. The discontent of the Latins was probably due to the encroachments of Rome upon the equal rights of the members of the Latin League. See Mommsen, History of Rome, book ii. ch. 5.

secreti, participle, 'separated from the others.'

fassi, 'fateor,' admitted.

§ 2. **metu** = periculo.

si videatur, ἐὰν δοκῇ.

§ 3. **nec tamen**, 'still neither L. Furius nor any one in the army believed that Camillus would really forgive his blunder.'

satis, we should say '*completely* appeased feelings,' infra 5. 6.

data esset, as in 'pessumdo,' &c., 'dare' here apparently has the

sense of 'place,' which properly belongs to the root dhâ. This root was confused in Latin with dâ, 'give.' cp. 'condo,' 'abdo,' 'edo.' (See Max Muller, Lectures on the Science of Language, ii. p. 224. 1875.) **Chap. 25.**

in tam praecipitem; cp. 42. 50. 2 'in aleam tanti casus se daret' (Weiss.).

§ 4. **constans fama**, 'uncontradicted (harmonious) report,' i. e. fixed belief of all.

§ 5. **permisso**, 'leave being given.' The participle is not infrequently thus used impersonally, or with its substantive suppressed. Cp. Tac. Ann. 1. 35 'addito acutiorem esse;' and for an adjective similarly used, ibid. 6 'iuxta periculoso ficta seu vera promeret:' Livy 10. 36. 6 'edicto;' 9. 16. 5 'impetrato.'

§ 6. **moderatione animi**: 'animi' is often thus added in Latin, where the English uses the abstract term only. The names of many qualities were hardly fixed in the Latin language until Cicero gained currency for them by his philosophical writings.

pace constanti = by a persistent peaceful attitude.

§ 7. **togati**, i. e. in the dress worn in time of peace, not in the military 'sagum.' Cp. 6. 18. 9.

§ 8. **eademne** after **scire cupiens**. **ne** = utrum.

§ 9. **opifices**, in manual labour, the 'artes sordidae,' βάναυσοι τέχναι; 'artifex,' of the liberal arts.

ludos litterarum; cf. Gk. σχολή, σχολάζω: 3. 44. 6 'ibi namque (in foro) in tabernis litterarum ludi erant.'

repletas with **puerorum**, as 'plenus.'

suorum usuum causae, 'the inducements of their own wants,' 'the calls of their occupations.' For the subjunctive of frequency cp. 6. 8. 6.

§ 11. **adeo**, 'so astounding was it that.'

§ 1. **patientia**, 'submissiveness,' 'willingness to suffer.' **Chap. 26.**

vestra = vestras res.

§ 2. **praecipiam**, 'anticipate,' 'seize for myself the favour of leniency which the government will show.'

habueritis, lit. you shall have had, you may take.

precibus = petition.

quem videbitur. 'quem dare senatui aequum videbitur;' impersonal. cp. 33. 26. 3 'legiones quas videretur uti darent.'

§ 3. **iam tum**, 'even at the outset.'

§ 4. **Quibus**, 'We against whom.'

ita armati, i. e. unarmed.

§ 5. **nisi si quando**, 'unless at any time.'

fecerunt, sc. quidquam hostile.

§ 6. **praestitimus**, 'guaranteed,' 'maintained.'

Chap. 26. § 6. **eo. sicubi est** = to any place where war exists. si-cubi = if anywhere; for the form 'cubi,' cp. 'si-cunde' = si unde; and the relatives qui, quum, &c.; Gk. Aeol. *κοῦ, κότε*.

polleo; said to be derived from 'potis-valeo.'

di . . . faciant: supply 'ut sit;' 'May Heaven grant that it be fortunate as it is good!'

§ 7. **revicta rebus**, 'the evidence of facts' (lit. things conquered by facts).

Peccetur = it will not matter if errors are committed against you.

dum digni, 'provided you deserve to be appeased in this manner.'

nobis with **tutum**.

§ 8. **pacem**, through the senate.

civitatem; 33. 6 'non in societatem modo Romanam sed etiam in civitatem se dedissent.' Some doubts have been thrown on this grant of the full *civitas* to Tusculum, coming as it does rather by way of punishment than of reward: but in face of the statements of Livy and Dionysius, 14. 6. 9, it is impossible to deny it. Tusculum lost its independence but retained a certain amount of self-government. But it was not content with its position and rebelled in 340 B.C. Cp. 8. 7. 2. (See Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverwaltung, i. p. 28.)

Chap. 27. § 1. **patientia**, 'long suffering,' 'gentleness.'

§ 3. **eguit**, 'was in need of.'

incertam famam, 'the vague reports of the general indebtedness.'

aggravo. The word is not found before Livy, and was perhaps invented by him (Dict. Lewis and Short) = exaggerating.

elevaretur, 'depreciated;' supra 23. 4 'elevando auctoritatem collegae.'

quibus fide, 'whose interest it was that loans should seem to be in danger more from want of honour than of means in the debtors.'

creditum = money lent, loans.

fide, 'quod fidem fallere cupiebant.' Weissenborn adds 'res pro rei defectu;' 2. 19. 6 'viribus gravior.'

§ 4. **sufficì**, to be elected into the place of a dead official or of one who has resigned.

religio erat, 'there were conscientious feelings against.' Cp. 5. 40. 8 'ubi nunc despui religio est,' and infra § 5.

§ 5. **vitio creati**, 'informally appointed;' 5. 17. 2 'magistratus vitio creatos.'

velut dis, 'as though the gods;' 'tanquam' and 'ut' are also thus used with ablatives absolute, adjectives, &c.

§ 6. **testes tabulas**: apposition, 'the evidence of the accounts furnished to the state of each man's income;' i. e. the public authorised lists of each citizen's property, which, if regularly drawn up, would

prove how much a fenerator had lent, &c. The accounts were drawn up by the censors (Weiss.). **Chap. 27.**

partem a parte, 'one half by the other.'

quum interim, 'and all the while.'

§ 7. **ubi aliquando**, 'where from time to time they might hear the words of the tribune discussing the question of reducing the rate of interest.'

§ 8. **patrum libertatis**; e. g. in the time of the first secession, 2. 23 seq., 32, 33.

addici, 'to be surrendered (to his creditor).'

inita ratione, 'some method set on foot.'

supersit. Supply 'utrum.'

nervo; supra 11. 8, 15. 9.

§ 9. **merces seditionis.** Cp. 4. 2. 4 'donec, quam felices seditiones, tam honorati seditionum auctores essent.'

addicebantur, imperfect, 'were being surrendered.' The man thus adjudged a bondsman, though virtually a slave, did not in all respects occupy the position of a 'servus.' His debt could be paid, even against his creditor's will; and he thereupon recovered his full status; whereas a slave set free only became 'libertus.' It is worth noticing that a law of the Twelve Tables, passed nearly fifty years after the first secession, ordered the body of the bondsman for debt to be cut up and divided among his creditors, as Gellius 20. 1 informs us: an instance of the severity of the law defeating itself, and also remarkable as showing the extravagant lengths to which class legislation can be carried, particularly in a country incessantly engaged in war.

§ 10. **duci**, 'in carcerem,' 'in servitutem apud dominos.'

cura creditae, &c., 'less regard for carrying out the law with respect to borrowed money.'

§ 1. **in semet ipsos** = alius in alium. Cp. 'inter se obviam ire' = to meet one another. **Chap. 28.**

§ 2. **protinus**, 'continuously.' Cp. Virg. Aen. 3. 291:—

'Protinus aerias Phaeacum abscondimus arces.'

portam Collinam. Cp. 5. 41. 4, note.

§ 5. **Alia**; 5. 37. 7.

fatalem: cf. 'contactum,' 'nefasta;' infra and 5. 19. 1 (Weiss.).

§ 6. **similem . . . ac fuerit**, 'the same as occurred.'

diem contactum, 'feared the day as defiled, and paid solemn observance to it.'

truces sonumque vocis; 5. 37. 8 'truci cantu . . . horrendo cuncta compleverant sono.'

§ 7. **inanes**, 'thus meditating in fanciful thoughts on fanciful things (influences).'

Chap. 28. § 7. **volventes**, usually with 'animo,' 'pectore,' 'secum' (Weiss.).

ad Regillum lacum; 2. 19. 20.

obnoxia, 'submissive:' 7. 30 2 'subiecti atque obnoxii vobis;' transferred from men to things, 'a peace by which they were subjected to Rome.'

§ 8. **irritaturum**, 'would rouse,' sc. the Romans.

potius quam ut . . . faciat = potius quam facturum: a common construction. Cp. 4. 2. 9 'maiores quamlibet dimicationem subituros fuisse potius, quam . . . paterentur.' Cp. 6. 15. 12.

nefasta, 'unlucky,' 'inauspicious.'

§ 9. **ut pugnaverint**, 'as they once fought.'

effecerint ne, 'when the result was that no one.'

Chap. 29. § 1. **nec . . . dederint**: (1) a prayer, 'And may the gods not have given them;' 'neu' would be more common, though 'nec' is found thus; more probably, (2) 'The event will show that the gods have given them nothing to rely on,' lit. 'the gods will have given.'

quod sit = quicquam quod sit, 'anything which would be of greater assistance.'

§ 2. **per vestrum numen**, 'under guise of your protection,' i. e. 'di foederis.' Virg. Aen. 2. 396 'Vadimus immixti Danais haud numine nostro.'

§ 3. **postquam**, 'when now.'

praeter castra . . . praelati; cp. in 5. 26. 7 'praelati castra' with no preposition.

§ 4. **tumultuario**, 'hastily applied;' 5. 37. 7 'tumultuario exercitu' = troops hastily levied.

obsidio inferretur: on the analogy of 'bellum, arma inferre' (Weiss.).

§ 6. **captis**, ablative absolute, 'iis' omitted; supra 25. 5, note.

§ 8. **signum**, &c. A statue of Jupiter Imperator brought from Praeneste.

§ 9. **hoc dederunt ut** = granted that.

§ 10. **vicesimo** (post) **quam**. The ordinal contains the sense of 'post.'

Chap. 30. § 1. **plebeiorum**, for the first time since 396 B.C., perhaps with the exception of Trebonius, 313 B.C. (Weiss.).

§ 3. **gratia**, 'personal influence' (apud patres).

sine comparatione, 'without any agreement or contract,' i. e. between the 'tribuni militum' themselves, with regard to the choice o[f] 'provinciae;' 3. 41. 7 'inter se decemviri comparabant, quos ire ad bellum . . . oporteret;' 42. 31. 1 'ut consules inter se provincias . . . compararent sortirenturve:' *sors* 'lot' and *comparatio* 'arrangement'

are the ordinary means of assigning a province. Here, as in 6. 22. 6, the province is specially assigned '*extra ordinem*'. **Chap. 30.**

§ 4. **inexplorato.** A favourite word with Livy, used as adverb.

velut circumventis, 'supposed to be surrounded.' *Velut* is explained by 'quum . . . esset.'

qui hostis . . . Latinus, 'who, really a Latin and an enemy, had deceived them under the guise of a Roman soldier.'

§ 5. **caedunt**; cp. Virg. Aen. 10. 756 'caedebant pariter pariterque ruebant.'

§ 6. **utrobique,** 'both in the battle and at the camp.'

quicquid superfuit, &c. Cp. 5. 40. 1 'commendantes virtuti eorum iuventaeque urbis . . . quaecumque reliqua esset fortuna.' The simplest way is to take 'fortunae' as the genitive.

§ 7. **apparuit,** 'it was manifest.' Usually a stronger word than 'videri.' For the tenses see 2. 7. 3. The impft. describes the arrival of the news from time to time; the pft. expresses the result.

tempore, 'opportunity.'

inde, from that quarter.

quantum a Volscis, i. e. 'esse poterat' (Weiss.).

§ 8. **tumultuatum,** of sudden or irregular warfare. Cp. tumultus, tumultuarius.

§ 9. **adscripti**; i.e. entered on the list for the colony; **deducti**, of colonists actually taken there.

tribuni militum ex plebe, the plebeian 'tribuni militum,' cp. 5. 32. 6 'M. Caedicius de plebe.'

gratia maiestasque, 'the influence of their exalted position.'

§ 1. **seditio,** as frequently = agitation. **Chap. 31.**

§ 2. **noscendi,** 'to investigate this.'

ne rem agerent, 'from conducting the inquiry.'

§ 3. **passim**; formed from past participle of 'pando,' 'passus,' spread about.

§ 4. **ius . . . diceretur,** 'no trial should take place,' 'no sentence be passed.' Weissenborn reads 'diceret,' remarking on the harsh use of 'quis' as subject to both.

§ 5. **laxamento,** 'respite.' Chiefly found in Livy.

dextrorsus = dextro-versus.

§ 6. **illi vagae,** 'the desultory forays.'

discordiae fretus, dative; supra 13. 1 'nulli rei freta.'

iusto exercitu iusta ira, 'by a regular army lawfully retaliating.' There is a play on the meanings of *iustus*.

§ 7. **extrema finium**: infra 32. 5 'subita belli;' ibid. 11 'extrema agminis.'

Chap. 31. § 7. **hostico,** sc. 'agro.'

§ 8. **tectis agrorum** = dwellings in the open country, 'farm-buildings.'

satis = segetibus (Weiss.), a poetical use. Cp. 8. 29. 11 'populando atque urendo tecta hostium sataque.'

in spem, 'to let them hope for a harvest.'

Chap. 32. § 1. **celebrari,** 'to be put in force (frequently).'

locatum, 'contracted for.' *Locare* is used of the man who wants work done, *conducere* of the man who undertakes to do it, the contractor. It was the business of the censors to arrange contracts for public works. **Saxo quadrato,** cp. 6. 4. 12.

§ 2. **quem dilectum,** 'the tribunes of the commons had no levy of troops to stop.'

§ 3. **coacta,** i. e. plebs.

§ 4. **sacramento,** ablative. Cp. 2. 1. 9 'populum iure iurando adegit.'

§ 5. **subita belli,** 'emergencies;' supra 31. 7 'extrema finium.'

§ 6. **ut . . . sic,** 'although . . . still.' A shower of rain and tremendous storm stopped a battle which promised success, though not at the time a really decided victory.

§ 8. **gradu demoti,** 'forced from their position.' Technical military use of 'gradus.'

inclinavit; 1. 27. 11 'fuga inclinavit,' as frequently 'acies inclinavit' (Weiss.).

vis, 'the onslaught,' 'rush.'

§ 10. **fugae simili,** 'by a march much like a flight.' Tac. Ann. 6. 44 'sed fugae specie discessum.'

prope, 'close in their track.' *Prope* is used as an adverb and *vestigiis* is an ablative of manner. Cp. Cic. Brut. 90. 307 'videre quem ad modum simus in spatio Q. Hortensium ipsius vestigiis persecuti.'

plus tamen, 'fear was swifter than vengeance;' i. e. the Latins and Volscians escaped.

§ 11. **extrema agminis**; supra 31. 7.

nec Romanis, 'because on the one hand the Romans were not.'

Chap. 33. § 1. **Seditio,** 'a quarrel.' Antium was a town of the Volsci in Latium; so 'seditio' implies secession from the alliance formed with the Latins.

in quo et nati erant. This is true of the Volscians generally, but not of Antium, which had only been at war thirteen years. Cf. ch. 2.

§ 2. **nihil per alteros,** 'that it did not depend on either party to hinder the policy begun.'

§ 3. **profecti . . . vindicaverunt.** 'The Latins by departing freed themselves from any part in a degrading peace.' **Chap. 33.**

incommodis . . . remotis, 'having got rid of the unsuitable judges of what was good policy.'

§ 4. **igni concremarent,** 'burnt to the ground.'

matris Matutae; cp. 5. 19. 6, note. Her temple at Satricum is also mentioned 28. 11. 2 'Satrici Matris Matutae (aedem) de caelo tactam.'

§ 5. **inde,** 'from it,' with **arcuisse.**

nefandos, 'sacrilegious.' Cp. Tibull. 3. 5. 11 'nec nos sacrilegi templis admovimus ignes.'

§ 6. **Tusculum,** 'carried them thus maddened and infuriated to Tusculum.'

§ 9. **simul . . . animo,** 'combining the position of besiegers and besieged.'

terrere una ac pavere, 'frightening on one side, fearful on the other' = attacking and defending at once; 22. 5. 4.

§ 11. **excipit,** 'answered by.' Cp. 6. 3. 4.

molientes: of siege work, as absolute in Tac. Hist. 4. 29 'sonus molientium.'

§ 12. **ab hostibus** = from the enemy.

§ 1. **Quanto magis** with **tranquilla.** *Tantum* is Madvig's correction for *tanto*. The ablative ('tanto'), common with adjectives, is rare with verbs. Cic. pro Deit. 4. 12 'quanto viceras, tanto praestitisti;' Caes. B. C. 1. 81. 3 'quantum . . . tanto aberant;' Ov. Met. 13. 367 'tanto supero' (Weiss.). **Chap. 34.**

eo ipso, 'ease of payment was stopped by the simple fact that payment was compulsory.' For a financial crisis and the remedies applied to it see Tac. Ann. 6. 16, 17.

§ 2. **fama.** Tac. l. c. 'eversio rei familiaris dignitatem ac famam praeceps dabat.'

corpore . . . satisfaciebant. It is only within a few years that the writs 'ca. sa.,' = capias debitoris corpus ad satisfaciendum, have been abolished in England.

in vicem fidei cesserat, 'and punishment had taken the place of payment' (Weiss.).

§ 3. **obnoxios summiserant,** 'had abjectly surrendered.'

quod ut liceret, 'for the legal right to which.'

§ 4. **experienti,** 'enterprising.' The pres. participle here has the force of the verbal in -tor, expressing a permanent characteristic.

§ 5. **rem ingentem moliundi,** 'for bringing about an enormous change.'

Chap. 34. § 5. **M. Fabius Ambustus.** The three sons of this man had been sent as 'legati' to the Gauls when attacking Clusium, 5. 35. 36.

sui corporis = sui ordinis.

id genus, i. e. plebeians.

Stolo. Weissenborn quotes Varro de Re Rust. 1. 2. 9 'quod nullus in eius fundo reperiri poterat stolo, quod effodiebat circum arbores e radicibus quae nascerentur e solo, quos stolones appellabant.'

§ 6. **forem . . . percuteret.** Cp. Pliny 7. 112 'Cn. Pompeius intraturus Posidonii domum fores percuti de more vetuit.'

insueta: used with genitive, dative, adjective, and infinitive.

§ 7. **stimulos . . . subdidit** = stung her, for a little thing will excite a woman's feelings.

frequentia. The abl. gives the reason for her envy, 'the sight of the throng who waited on him and asked his pleasure.'

suique . . . paenituisse, 'she regretted her own choice, from that foolish idea ("arbitrium," opinion) which makes all persons unable to bear to be distanced by their relatives.'

§ 8. **piam**, 'affectionate'—affection being, as it were, the 'dutifulness' between sisters. See note on 6. 23. 12.

§ 9. **impari**, 'to one beneath her.' As the ceremony of marriage transferred the woman into her husband's family and under the 'potestas' of the head of his family, the patrician girl would practically in this case become a member of the plebs.

§ 11. **cuius spei** = whose ambition.

Chap. 35. § 1. **cuius . . . speraret.** The subjunctive to introduce the semi Oratio Obliqua of their thoughts and plans.

§ 2. **accingendum** without 'se,' reflexive: 4. 2. 7 'ad consulatum vulgi turbatores accingi:' Virg. Aen. 2. 671 'Hinc ferro accingor rursus' (Weiss.).

eo gradum fecisse = had climbed to a position.

annitantur = if they *now* make an effort. The use of present subjunctive in Oratio Obliqua has been noted before, and is very characteristic of Livy. Cp. especially 1. 9. 14, 15.

honore, 'official distinction.'

§ 4. **adversus**, 'antagonistic to,' 'to break down.'

deducto, 'after subtracting from the amount of the loan ("caput," principal) what had been paid in interest, the balance should be paid in three equal yearly instalments.'

§ 5. **modo agrorum**, 'a limitation of land-holding.'

plus quingenta: when used with numerals, 'plus' and 'amplius' rarely take the ablative, although 'quam' is omitted.

tribunorum militum. Supra c. 30. the plebeian 'tribuni militum' do not appear to have been of much use when elected; and cp.

infra 37. 5 'quattuor et quadraginta annis neminem ex plebe tribunum militum creatum esse.' **Chap. 35.**

utique, 'one, at any rate.' The proposal had been before made by Canuleius, 4. 2. 7.

§ 6. **discrimine proposito**, 'all these objects of men's desire being called in question,' or 'put to the issue.'

publicis privatisque, 'both as a class and as individuals,' 'political and personal.'

collegas; as constantly done, especially against Tiberius Gracchus.

§ 7. **recitari**, to be read out by a clerk (Weissenborn), when the 'veto' might be exercised.

sollemne: 39. 15. 1 'sollemne carmen precationis, quod praefari solent, priusquam populum adloquantur, magistratus.'

ad sciscendum plebi, 'usual, customary for the plebs in voting (on a measure);' *sciscendum* is appropriate to the plebs; cf. 'plebiscitum.'

§ 8. **pro antiquatis**, 'as good as rejected.'

placet, 'it is your pleasure,' 'you are determined.'

isto ipso, 'the very weapon you use.'

intercessionem. See note on 5. 9. 3.

§ 9. **faxo** = fecero, 'I will bring it about that.' For the form see Roby *L. G.* 619.

veto, used in 3. 13. 6 'in vincla coniici vetant.'

concinentes: cp. συνᾴδω; 'harmonious.'

§ 10. **solitudo magistratuum**, 'this state of having no magistrates.'

tollentibus, 'stopping,' 'doing away with.' This state of things at Rome is certainly the logical outcome of the system, which contrived that one official should act as a check on another, and, as in the case of 'tribuni plebis,' gave an absolute power to bring about a deadlock of political business. But there is something too extraordinary in the acquiescence or submission of the 'patres' in the present case for so long a time; and modern critics have either rejected Livy's statement or attempted to disprove it by chronological researches.

§ 1. **gestientes otio**, 'growing insolent *in time of* peace;' 'gestio' from 'gestus;' literally, to throw oneself about for joy. **Chap. 36.**

§ 5. **haud paulo vi maiore** = much more closely.

§ 7. **Fabius**. M. Fabius Ambustus, supra 34. 5.

auctor, 'suggested.'

suasorem, 'openly advocated,' 'openly supported.'

§ 8. **quum octo**, 'whereas eight had vetoed, now there were only five; and perplexed and puzzled as men usually are who secede from their friends.'

domi, i.e. in consultation among themselves and with the patricians who opposed these laws.

Chap. 36. § 8. **praetendebant** = gave as excuse for.

§ 10. **artifices**, 'versed,' 'experienced by their many years' practice.'

fatigabant, 'plied (with questions).'

§ 11. **quum**, 'although,' 'whereas.'

bina = only two.

§ 12. **an placeret**, 'or did they wish that the plebs, overwhelmed by usury, should, rather than pay the loan by (returning) the capital, surrender their persons?' &c.

nobiles; 'noble' now is synonymous with 'patrician.' After the consulship was thrown open to the plebs all families whose members had held office were noble, whether patrician or plebeian. Cp. infra 37. 11.

Chap. 37. § 1. **atqui** introduces the conclusion that the opening of the consulship is the only remedy.

§ 2. **modum**, 'no stop to the patricians seizing land.' Cp. the word 'land-grabber.'

§ 3. **quippe quae**, 'for indeed that office was destroying.'

§ 4. **imperium . . . auxilium.** This expresses sharply the contrast between the 'command' of the magistrate of the Roman people and the negative powers of the officer of the plebs. Cp. infra 38. 6.

Nec esse quod, 'and (they said) it was not a concession which any one could think enough.'

ratio . . . habeatur, 'if a plebeian should be allowed to become a candidate.' 'Rationem habere' = to take account of, i.e. the presiding official would allow votes to be given for the particular candidate, &c. The phrase occurs frequently in Cicero's Letters about the time of Caesar's final rupture with Pompey; the dispute being 'de ratione Caesaris absentis habenda,' at the consular 'comitia.'

utique; 'in any case,' supra 35. 5.

§ 5. **idcirco . . . ut**: together; 'with this very object that.'

§ 6. **Quid crederent?** Oratio Obliqua, 'What do you believe?'

impertituros; sc. patres.

octona: the distributive for the cardinal number; 'eight on each occasion.' This is an exaggeration: only three instances are mentioned, and these are not certain. Cp. note on 5. 1. 2.

§ 7. **Lege**, 'by statute law.'

relictus, 'the consulship, if left to be contested.'

§ 8. **curules magistratus**; cp. 5. 41. 2.

primus ex plebe; 5. 12. 9.

aliquot damnatos, e.g. Sergius and Verginius, 5. 12. 1, and Camillus.

§ 10. **stabilem libertatem**: 2. 1. 7 'Libertatis originem inde magis, quia annuum imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate.'

Chap. 37.

§ 11. **genus.** The first member of a non-patrician family who gained a 'curule' office became 'auctor generis,' and transmitted the 'ius imaginum' to his descendants and the right to the auspices (4. 6. 2); indeed his 'gens' was probably thereby made equal in most though not in all respects to a patrician 'gens' (Weiss.).

nobilitatem, 'rank.'

ipsis fruenda, 'for themselves to enjoy, still greater to leave to their children' = ut iis ipsi fruerentur. Cic. Mil. 22. 63 'quin . . . vobis haec fruenda relinqueret.'

§ 12. **accipi,** 'acceptable.'

pars = half.

comitia = the voting on.

Chap. 38.

§ 1. **reducerentur,** 'before the army could be brought back.'

de legibus res, 'the proposing of the laws.'

§ 3. **ultima auxilia,** 'last resources,' 5. 37. 1.

§ 4. **cooptat.** The word technically expresses the choice of the dictator; 'nominare' and 'dicere' are commonly used.

causam plebis, 'support,' 'strengthen the people's cause with unflinching resolution.'

concilio, the technical word for an assembly of the plebs, as 'comitia' for an assembly of the populus; cp. 5. 1. 1.

§ 5. **intercedentium.** If the details are meant to be accurate, the tribunes seem not to have opposed the summoning of the tribes, but to be now trying to oppose the passing of the law.

favore, 'popularity.'

Uti Rogas. The 'tabellae' for voting on a law proposed were marked U. R. for approval, A. ('Antiquo') for rejection. Otherwise, in electing a magistrate, the voter wrote the candidate's name on his 'tabella.' In courts of justice, the 'tabellae' were marked A. ('Absolvo') C. ('Condemno'), N. L. ('non liquet' = not proven). The presiding official 'rogavit populum de lege' ('velitis iubeatis rogo'), whence the phrase 'Uti rogas.' Cp. 10. 8. 12 'Ego hanc legem, uti rogas, iubendam censeo.'

primae, i.e. those which voted first.

§ 6. **libido,** 'licence,' 'caprice.'

secessione; 2. 33, B.C. 494. Of course the original idea of the *veto* had been its usefulness against patrician action or legislation.

vestra causa, 'for your own sake.'

adero, 'will support.'

§ 7. **nihil . . . inseram,** 'I will in no way intrude my patrician office upon an assembly of the plebs.'

vim tribuniciam; supra 37. 3.

§ 8. **adacturum**; for omission of 'se' cp. Excursus, p. 25.

Chap. 38. § 9. **re neutro inclinata.** The vagueness at this point of the struggle at least shows that the plebeian tribunes were probably within their rights.

scivit, scisco = iubeo, of laws. Cp. 35. 7.

pro dictatore, 'in his capacity of dictator.'

multa, 'a fine of.'

§ 10. **novi exempli rogatione,** 'an unheard of proposal.'

ut credam after **facit.** 'I am induced to believe both by the character of the man in question.'

§ 11. **quem quid,** 'for what object was there in electing him to deal with a crisis in which M. Furius had been defeated?'

haud sine pudore, 'who certainly could not without a feeling of shame resume a power which in the year before had been crushed in his hands.'

§ 12. **in ordinem cogi,** 'was forced back to his usual rank,' i.e. 'reduced,' cp. 3. 51. 13. The phrase 'cogere in ordinem' means to treat a magistrate as though he were an ordinary citizen. It is used of anyone who disturbs or hinders a magistrate in the exercise of his functions.

ne illas, &c.; 'or else he could not have stopped those proposals (the 'de agris,' 'de consulatu,' &c.) on account of which this proposal ('de multa') was brought forward.'

§ 13. **dictaturae,** i.e. there is no record of successful resistance to a dictator.

Chap. 39. § 1. This clearly shows that the Licinian Laws were carried by a combination of two parties, the poor peasants and the indebted class generally, and the powerful but unprivileged plebeians. See Introduction, p. 8.

§ 2. **iubebant;** supra 38. 9 'plebs scivit.'

in omnia consulere, 'take the feeling of the plebs on all together;' 'in' expresses the object; cp. 21. 43. 7 'in mercedem.' Weissenborn quotes Dio Cass. frag. 29. 5 *ὁ Στόλων εἰπών, ὡς οὐκ ἂν πίοιεν, εἰ μὴ φάγοιεν, ἀνέπεισεν αὐτοὺς μηδενὸς ἀφέσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖα πάντα ὅσα ἐνεχειρίσαντο κατεργάσασθαι.*

§ 3. **C. Licinius.** Not Stolo, the tribune of the plebs, but a relative of his. The passage would have been clearer if his cognomen had been added.

§ 6. **privatim** = 'personally.'

publice, 'politically.'

§ 7. **ablegatione,** 'sending away;' used by Pliny as a euphemism for 'relegatio,' banishing; and such would be implied by the tribunes here.

§ 8. **dictatorem . . . quippe qui,** 'not even the dictator, for he . . .'

§ 9. **possessoribus**, 'occupiers,' the technical term for 'squatters' on public land, who paid a rent (often merely nominal) collected by publicani. *Possessio* gave no title of ownership as against the state. **Chap. 39.**

si velit; singular, 'plebs.'

§ 10. **aestimaturos**; as this strictly represents a question in the second person, one would expect the subjunctive. See Excursus.

incidant, 'cut off.'

modestiae, 'moderation,' 'self-respect.'

populi Romani, the plebs of course being a part of the populus Romanus.

per quos . . . relinquat, 'while it left the men, by whom it gained those privileges, old and only tribunes.' The antithesis is emphasized by the asyndeton.

§ 11. **esse quod**, 'there was a reason why.'

§ 12. **opus sit**, 'advantageous.'

velint after **vellent**: 2. 39. 11; Caes. Bell. Gall. 1. 34 'si quid opus esset . . . si quid ille velit' (Weiss.).

§ 1. **obstino**. A lengthened form of 'obsto.' **Chap. 40.**

stupor . . . defixisset, 'amazement had paralysed.'

§ 2. **nepos decemviri**; in 4. 48. 5 he is 'minimus natu ex patrum concilio.'

sententiam, 'to the following effect.'

§ 3. **iam inde**, 'from the very beginning.' The Claudii migrated to Rome and were enrolled among the patres, B. C. 504, before the battle at Lake Regillus. The founder of the family at Rome was Attus Clausus, who came from Inregillum, a town of the Sabines, 2. 16.

antiquius, 'preferable.'

adversatos, a subject must be supplied from 'Claudia gens.'

§ 4. **infitias**. Only used in the accusative with 'ire,' and usually with a negative. From 'fat-eor' (Weiss.).

§ 5. **contendere ausim** = I will venture to maintain. Pft. subj. Cp. 7. 10. 2.

vere referri, 'can with truth be brought forward.'

§ 6. **An hoc with reticere possim.**

duobus ingenuis. Cp. 10. 8. 10 'patricios primo esse factos, non de caelo demissos, sed qui patrem ciere possent, id est nihil ultra quam ingenuos.'

§ 7. **regnant**, the charge brought against the Gracchi.

non . . . non; superfluous after **negent**, but adding to the emphasis of the language. Cp. 2. 45. 5.

§ 8. **inquit**; Sextius or Licinius.

Quid est aliud, 'what else is it than to say . . . ?' 'quam' omitted.

Chap. 40. = οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἤ. Weissenborn cp. Cic. Off. 3. 13. 55 'quid est enim aliud erranti viam non monstrare—si hoc non est,' &c.

§ 10. **Tarquinii,** 'you, Tarquin-like.'

succlamare. Used also of friendly interruptions, 3. 50. 10 'Virginio vociferanti succlamabat multitudo, nec illius dolori . . . se defuturos.'

Bona venia vestra, 'by your good leave;' 7. 41. 3 'Oravit etiam bona venia Quirites.'

§ 11. **non licebit.** These are the words put by Appius into the mouth of the tribune, but they are coloured by Appius' own feeling and imply his condemnation. 'You shall not be allowed to legislate on land and usury, matters of concern to you all, without at the same time seeing the shocking sight of Licinius and Sextius in the consulship.'

abominaris; supra 18. 9, and 30. 25. 12 (Weiss.).

§ 12. **vitale,** 'life-giving.'

tuleris, 'propose.'

§ 13. **invidiosius,** 'more unpleasant (than anything else).'

§ 14. **magistratus ille,** 'the tribune.'

secundis auribus; cp. 'secundo populo,' 'concione,' 'Marte,' &c.

ab nostrum quo, 'by any one of us (patricians).'

§ 15. **At hercule** introduces the objection of a plebeian. 'But, you will say, our words are not fit for a free state. I ask you, what shall we say of the bill which they are indignant at your rejecting? It exactly resembles this language you complain of.' It would be possible to take 'at hercule' not of a supposed objection but a strong assertion of Appius (cp. 7. 4. 7), in which case 'sermo' will be the speech of the tribunes as opposed to their formal proposals ('rogatio'), i.e. their language is bad enough, but their bill is worse.

civilis = courteous, becoming the conduct of one civis to another. Juv. 5. 112 'poscimus ut cenes civiliter;' Tac. Ann. 1. 33 'civile ingenium.' Cp. 5. 3. 9.

§ 17. **Porsinna**; 2. 9. 1 'Tarquinii ad Lartem Porsinnam, Clusinum regem, perfugerant.'

hoc M. Furio. Like οὑτοσί, Camillus being assumed to be among the audience with the patres.

haud pro dubio, 'without possibility of failure, would be absolutely consul.' Weissenborn quotes Sall. Jug. 22. 4 'neque recte neque pro bono,' and Livy 4. 7. 3 'pro confirmato.'

de repulsa dimicare = fight for, risk a defeat.

§ 18. **necesse sit,** 'ut' omitted, supplied from previous sentence.

consortio; 4. 5. 5 'si in consortio, si in societate rei publicae' (Weiss.).

Parum est, 'Is it too little for you, if you receive a part of that in

which you hitherto have had no part at all, unless while asking for part you appropriate the whole?' **Chap. 40.**

§ 19. **Quid est dicere**; supra 8.

indignos; sc. 'qui consules creentur.'

vestra voluntate = ultro, 'of your own free-will.'

§ 20. **debeat.** Sall. Jug. 85. 37 'nobilitas omnis honores non ex merito sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit.'

lege = by statute, because if alone he could not be rejected.

§ 1. **ita maxima . . . ut**, 'they mean to win the highest honour so completely that they will not be indebted even for the lowest,' i. e. 'while they mean, &c., they intend not to be indebted,' &c. **Chap. 41.**

occasionibus, 'by seizing their opportunities,' i. e. offering themselves as plebeian candidates unopposed by any of their own class.

§ 2. **inspici, aestimari**, by public opinion. There was no *δοκιμασία* as at Athens. Cp. 3. 25. 4.

§ 3. **perpetua**, rhetorical exaggeration: or it might = uninterrupted, continuous, as in Virg. Aen. 7. 176:—

'Perpetuis soliti patres considere mensis.'

numeratis. On the bases of the statues; but the years of the kings' reigns were inscribed on these statues much later than the present date (Weiss.).

per occasionem, 'by taking advantage of.'

§ 4. **deorum iniuria.** For the argument 'de religionibus' cp. 5. 55. 1 'Movisse Camillus ea oratione, quae ad religiones pertinebat, maxime dicitur.' Tacitus quotes a very different remark of Tiberius, with reference to a charge of perjury: 'deorum iniurias dis curae,' Ann. 1. 73. See supra 1. 10 for the policy of the patricians in dealing with the publishing of the 'religiones.'

§ 5. **plebeius magistratus**, 'tribunes and aediles.'

§ 6. **privati**, 'as individuals;' **isti**, e. g. 'tribuni plebis.'

§ 7. **Eludant**, 'scoff at.'

§ 8. **quid esse**, 'what (they ask) is it?'

pulli, 'the sacred chickens.' Cicero tells of a Roman general who, when he found that the chickens would not eat, ordered them to be thrown into the sea, that at least they might be made to drink.

ex cavea, 'from their coop.' Cic. Nat. D. 2. 3. 7 'cum cavea liberati pulli non pascerentur.'

occino. Cp. 10. 40. 14 'corvus voce clara occinuit;' both forms of the perfect are found. For the *ob* cp. obnuntiatio.

rem = rempublicam.

§ 9. **pace**, 'grace.'

vulgo ergo introduces the ironical conclusion.

sacrificuli reges. The title 'rex' only remained as applied to

Chap. 41. this ceremonial official. 2. 2. 1 'quia quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant.' So at Athens the Ἄρχων βασιλεύς had charge of public worship.

§ 9. **apicem**, 'the cap.' Servius on Virgil Aen. 2. 683 explains it as the small rod, wound round with wool, on the top of the cap worn by the 'flamen Dialis.'

§ 10. **comitiis.** See on 5. 1. 1.

patres auctores fiant. This 'patrum auctoritas' was the sanction of the acts of the 'comitia curiata' and the 'comitia centuriata' by the patrician members of the senate, who formed a separate body for this purpose, and for the appointment of an interrex. By the *lex Publilia* of B.C. 339, by which assent had to be given beforehand to the acts of the 'comitia centuriata,' the control of the *patres* became purely formal. The 'comitia curiata' had ceased to pass laws except the 'lex curiata de imperio.'

§ 11. **pellendo finibus,** 'by driving the owners from their property.'

fidem, 'credit,' 'trust,' 'and with this the bond of social community is destroyed.'

§ 12. **faxitis**=feceritis, cp. 35. 9.

Chap. 42. § 2. **decemviris sacrorum,** 3. 10. 7 (Weiss.).

ex parte, 'to the number of half;' supra 37. 12.

§ 5. **auctor est**=Claudius asserts.

inclitam, '*the* famous battle.' The tale of Torquatus is recorded 7. 10.

§ 8. **quod.** The reasons of their saving themselves from the enemy are twofold: (1) because they fled so far away; (2) because they scattered all over the country.

§ 9. These are the Licinian rogations, to which Tiberius Gracchus appealed when he endeavoured to force the 'possessores' to give up the lands which they had received in violation of these statutes.

adversa nobilitate, 'with the aristocracy opposing,' 'in spite of aristocratic opposition.' Weissenborn quotes 1. 46. 2 'adversa patrum voluntate.'

§ 10. **auctores;** supra 41. 10, 'to ratify,' 'approve.' Cp. 1. 17. 9 'decreverunt ut, cum populus regem iussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres auctores fierent.'

res, subject of 'venit,' 'they came nearly to.'

prope secessionem; 26. 48. 8 'ea contentio quum prope seditionem veniret' (Weiss.).

§ 11. The 'praetor urbanus;' the 'praetor peregrinus' was added after the First Punic War. From their jurisdiction sprang the code known as Roman Law. In administering justice, the praetor came to apply principles of equity where the 'ius civile,' or strict law, did not adequately meet a case; and his decisions became incorporated in time

in an 'edictum,' which, added to annually, served as a precedent to subsequent officials. **Chap. 42.**

§ 12. **dignam** with **ut**, 'that this result deserved that.' Weissenborn quotes 24. 16. 19 'digna res visa ut simulacrum . . . pingi iuberet.'

merito also with **ut** = that it would be according to the merits of the gods that, i. e. that the gods well deserved that.

§ 13. **recusantibus**, because the expense would fall on them.

id facturos ut, 'would gladly allow themselves to be elected aediles.' By the institution of the Praetor and the Curule Aediles the Consulship was shorn of some of its powers at the very moment of surrender.

§ 14. **auctores**, 'should confirm,' 'ratify all the measures passed in that year.' Supra § 10.

BOOK VII.

§ 1. **novi hominis**, 'a man risen from the people.' Cp. Juv. 8. 237 of Cicero, 'Hic novus Arpinas;' there it means an intruder among the official nobility, here among the circle of patrician families. See note on 5. 12. 11. **Chap. 1.**

curuli, for 'curulis,' see note on 5. 41. 2.

§ 2. **campestri**, because the voting took place in the Campus Martius.

ceperunt. The unusual expression points to the success of the patricians in securing these offices, by way of balancing the Licinian laws.

§ 3. **agitata**, 'discussed.'

§ 4. **proferrentur**, 'all business was postponed.' Cp. 6. 20. 11 'die prodicta.'

tacitum, 'in silence,' adjective. Supply 'id' antecedent to 'quod.' Cp. 1. 50. 9 'ne id quidem ab Turno tacitum tulisse.'

§ 5. **praetextatos**. The 'praetexta' was worn by the higher magistrates, and by freeborn children until they assumed the 'toga virilis.'

§ 6. **reddentem**, 'administering.' In Livy 3. 55. 11 'consulibus et praetoribus,' 'praetor' is explained as referring to the consul in his judicial capacity. The name was really older than 'consul.'

iisdem auspiciis; 8. 32. 3 'praetores iisdem auspiciis, quibus consules, creati;' 43. 14. 4 'praetoribus et vis imperii et auctoritas minor (quam consulibus);' 45. 43. 2 'minor ipse imperator . . . et iure imperii praetor cum consule collatus' (Weiss.).

verecundia, 'the patricians were shy of electing,' 'felt themselves bound not to elect.'

§ 7. **ne quando**, 'that they might not have a moment's respite.'

§ 8. **ferunt**, 'historians record.'

Chap. 1. § 8. **pro portione**, 'in proportion too from the general population.

§ 9. **vel . . . vel**, 'on whatever ground you please, either because,' &c.

restitutus; 27. 34. 14 'M. Furium revocatum de exsilio patriam pulsam sede sua restituisse.' Plut. Cam. 30 *τὸν σωτῆρα πατρίδος γενόμενον καὶ καταγαγόντα τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν εἰς ἑαυτήν.*

§ 10. **titulo tantae gloriae**, 'the renown of his great distinction,' as it would be in the inscription on his statue.

dignus . . . quem, 'and deemed worthy to be named by the Romans the second founder of the city after Romulus.'

ferrent, 'to distinguish,' 'name as.' Preface 7 'Martem . . . ferat' (Weiss.). So frequently in Virgil.

Chap. 2. This sketch of the early history of the drama at Rome has to be supplemented by scattered passages from poets and grammarians. The chief facts which we gather are:—(1) The early existence of rude elements of drama in Italy in the form of Fescennine verses, saturae, &c. (2) The introduction of more elaborate music and dancing from Etruria. The rude native acting becomes more conventional and artistic. Livius introduces regular dialogue and plot, and separates singer and actor: with this the drama proper begins, following Greek models. The Satura, in the old sense, goes, its place being taken by the Atellan plays, which are acted as after-pieces and retain an amateur character, when acting generally has become professional.

§ 2. **tertio**. The first 'lectisternium' is mentioned 5. 13. 6; the second does not occur in Livy.

ludi scenici: literally, plays on a stage, distinguished from wrestling, racing, &c.

§ 4. **et ea ipsa**, 'and indeed this too.'

actu = recital of poems which required gesture.

§ 5. **inconditis . . . versibus**, 'gibing at one another in rough verses.'

nec absoni, 'not inappropriate to.'

§ 6. **excitata**, 'kept up by constant practice.'

Vernaculis artificibus, i.e. scenicis; 'native artistes.'

histrionibus, the predicate is attracted into the case of the subject 'artificibus.'

§ 7. **Fescennino**. Hor. Ep. 2. 1. 145:—

'Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.'

versu, dative: 9. 5. 6 'exercitu' (Weiss.).

impletas. Comic verses with rhythm complete, opposed to the 'rough and clumsy' dialogue of the Fescennine verse.

saturas. Probably 'satura' and 'satur' are from the same root as 'sero,' 'satum' (cp. 'Saturnus,' 'Saturnalia,' 'Saturnius versus'), and

'satura' was first applied to the rough jests in verse sung at harvest festivals and the 'saturnalia.' Livy means that they brought 'saturae' on the stage, but of an improved kind, with regular melody and rhythm (Weiss.). **Chap. 2.**

modis. Weissenborn quotes Val. Max. 2. 4. 4 'paulatim deinde ludicra ars ad saturarum modos perrepsit;' Cic. Legg. 2. 15. 39 'illa quae solebant quondam compleri severitate iucunda Livianis et Naevianis modis.'

descripto ad, 'arranged for.'

§ 8. **Livius.** M. Livius Andronicus, Cic. Brut. 18 'Livius qui primus fabulam C. Claudio Caeci filio et M. Tuditano consulibus docuit anno post Romam conditam quarto decimo et quingentesimo' (Weiss.).

post aliquot annos, others read 'annis:' cp. 32. 5. 10 'post paucis diebus.'

argumento, 'to put together a play with a plot.' Weissenborn quotes Quint. 5. 10. 9 'fabulae ad actus scenarum compositae argumenta dicuntur.'

serere = componere: 38. 56. 8 'alia tota serenda fabula est' (Weiss.).

§ 9. **revocatus,** 'after frequent recalls (encores) finding his voice hoarse.'

venia petita, 'obtained permission, and placed a boy to sing in front of the musician, while he acted to the words (i. e. a solo) of the song with gestures considerably more life-like, because he was not prevented by having to use his voice.'

§ 10. **ad manum,** 'the songs were sung in harmony with the actor's gesticulation.' Pantomime acting with musical accompaniment is evidently here meant.

diverbia = declamation without musical accompaniment (Weiss.).

§ 11. **ab risu,** &c., 'from the region of mere comic and laughable jesting.'

iuventus, 'the young Romans.'

histrionibus, 'professional actors.'

exodia, 'farces.' Juv. 3. 174:—

> 'tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
> Exodium.'

After-pieces, like the Satyric drama attached to the Greek trilogy (Weiss.).

fabellis Atellanis. Diomed. p. 487 'tertia species est fabularum Latinarum quae a civitate Atella, in quae primum coeptae, Atellanae dictae sunt, argumentis dictisque iocularibus similes Satyricis fabulis Graecis;' 'a burlesque national comedy' (Weiss.).

§ 12. **tenuit,** 'kept to themselves.'

nec tribu, 'are not disfranchised, and may serve in the army, as though not engaged in the art of comedy.' Valer. Max. loc. cit.

Chap. 2. 'quod genus delectationis (Atellanae) vacuum nota est . . . neque a militaribus stipendiis repellitur.' And Augustin. De Civit. Dei, 2. 13, quoting from Cicero, 'quum artem ludicram scenamque totam probro ducerent, genus id hominum non modo honore civium reliquorum carere, sed etiam tribu moveri notatione censoria voluerunt.'

§ 13. **quam ab sano**, 'how from a sensible beginning the practice has reached a senseless development, which a rich monarchy could scarcely support.'

Chap. 3. § 1. **Nec tamen**, 'However, the institution of plays set on foot to atone for the prodigies.' For 'procurare' cp. 5. 18. 12.

§ 2. **medios ludos**, 'the plays during their representation.'

§ 3. **clavus.** There is a passage in Petron. 135, though the reading is obscure, which has been taken to imply that nails were similarly used by country people to mark the years. Weissenborn quotes Pliny, 'remedium contra tonitrus clavus ferreus sub stramine ovorum ponitur.'

§ 5. **praetor maximus** = dictator. Cp. 3. 55. 11, where 'praetor' is apparently synonymous with consul; 'the highest magistrate.'

idibus Septembribus, '13th.'

ex qua parte, 'on the side where.' The great temple of Jupiter on the Capitolium was sacred to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, its cella being divided into three parts, each of which had a statue of one of the gods. (Middleton, *Anc. Rome.*)

§ 6. **rarae litterae**; 6. 1. 2.

notam. Weissenborn quotes Paul. Diac. p. 56 'clavus annalis appellabatur qui figebatur in aedibus sacrarum aedium per annos singulos ut per eos numerus colligeretur annorum.'

eo quia, 'for this reason, because number was the invention of Minerva.'

dicatam legem. The law was dedicated to Minerva as the inventor of number and the guardian of law, infra 8.

§ 7. **Nortia**; identified by some with Fortuna. A goddess of the Etruscans, cp. Juv. 10. 74:—

'si Nortia Tusco [Seiano]
Favisset.'

§ 8. **Horatius consul**, 2. 8 *ad fin.* He is in the list as M. Horatius Pulvillus, elected into the place of Brutus, the first consul.

maius imperium: 6. 38. 13 'dictaturae semper altius fastigium fuit.'

sollemne = the ceremony.

§ 9. **perinde ac** (='si'); so 'tanquam' is used. Cp. 2. 58. 1; 10. 34. 5.

affectans, 'aiming at,' 'aspiring after.'

Chap. 4. § 1. For L. Manlius cp. Cic. Off. 3. 31. 112 (Weiss.).

dies dicitur. As mentioned in 6. 38, it seems to have been im-

Chap. 4.

possible to resist any action on the part of the dictator; the only remedy, as here, lay in a prosecution after his resignation. Cp. 5. 32. 8. Cic. l. c. gives a different reason for the trial of Manlius: 'quod paucos sibi dies ad dictaturam gerendam addidisset.'

lata = perlata, tolerata; 'in which the citizens had to bear bodily injury as well as loss.' One would expect 'exercita,' but 'lata' expresses the idea from the point of view of the sufferers. To avoid the harsh construction, Madvig conjectures 'laeta.'

partim = nonnullis, with caesis, 'some having been scourged.'

qui, with subjunctive, gives the reason.

§ 3. **ingenium atrox.** Cp. the 'trux ingenium' of Appius the Decemvir, 3. 54. 3.

§ 4. **Crimini dabat**, 'alleged as a charge.'

nullius probri, 'not proved guilty of any crime.' The punishment thus inflicted would not be beyond the legal power of a 'paterfamilias,' though public opinion materially mitigated the employment of such power. Cp. the 'interdictio aqua et igni.' Tac. Ann. 1. 3 'flagitii compertum.'

ergastulum (ἐργάζομαι), a house where offenders (slaves or debtors) were imprisoned and forced to work. Cp. 2. 23. 6 'ductum se ab creditore non in servitium, sed in ergastulum et carnificinam esse.'

§ 5. **imperioso**, 'tyrannical.'

infacundior, 'less able to speak than most persons,' 'a little slow of speech and not ready with his tongue.' For the comparative, which is very common, cp. Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 29:—

'Iracundior est paullo, minus aptus acutis
Naribus horum hominum:'

and infra 'parum prosperum.'

§ 6. **nutriendum**, 'tended,' 'gently treated.' Weissenborn quotes Celsus 'nutrire ulcus, morbos.'

parum prosperum, 'unfortunate.'

§ 7. **habendo**, 'by keeping him;' for the ablative cp. 6. 20. 8, &c.

Chap. 5.

§ 2. **non civilis exempli**, 'not such as all citizens (peaceable men) should copy.' For 'civilis' cp. 5. 3. 9, &c.

§ 3. **domum ad**, 'to the house of M. Pomponius.'

domino convento, 'of a meeting with his master.' For participial construction see Excursus.

nuntiaret, 'he bade him announce.'

§ 4. **ad rem agendam**, 'to push on the prosecution;' for 'spes deferre' cp. 1. 5. 5 (Weiss.).

salute, 'greetings.'

arbitris remotis, 'without witnesses.'

§ 5. **ipse.** T. Manlius.

Chap. 5. § 5. **concepisset**, 'to draw up,' 'compose a form of words;' I. 32. 8 'paucis verbis carminis concipiendique iuris iurandi mutatis.'

se; the first refers to Pomponius, the second **se** to T. Manlius.

§ 6. **stolide ferocem**, 'confident, like a boor, in his physical strength.'

prae se deinde, 'afterwards openly declared.'

§ 7. **perinde ut**, 'just as the plebs would have preferred . . . still they were not angry.'

aegre. Sall. Cat. 51. 11 'multi eas gravius aequo habuere' (Weiss.).

tanta acerbitas patria = all his father's brutality.

ipsi . . . honori, the violation of the 'Sacrosanct Tribune' should have involved the most severe punishment. Seneca de Benef. 3. 37 'nulli alii licuit impune tribunum in ordinem redigere.'

§ 9. **tribunos militum**, officers in the army, six to each legion.

ad legiones with **fieri**; cp. 'servos ad remum dabamus' (Weiss.).

antea, i. e. before this date, B.C. 362.

Rufulos: said to be named after one Rutilius Rufus. They were tribunes appointed by the consul, as distinguished from those who were elected by the people in the 'Comitia Tributa.' See Note on the army.

ut qui, 'seeing that.'

Chap. 6. § 1. **specu**. Cp. 35. 9. 3 'collapsa quaedam ruinis sunt' (Weiss.).

§ 2. **voraginem**, 'chasm.'

quum pro se quisque, 'though one and all brought earth.'

deum monitu. Weissenborn quotes Dion. 14. 20 *οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν Σιβυλλείων χρησμῶν ἐπισκεψάμενοι τὰ βιβλία εἶπον, ὅτι τὰ πλείστου ἄξια τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ λαβοῦσα ἡ γῆ συνελεύσεται.*

quaeri coeptum, 'men began to ask what was the most powerful possession of the Roman people.'

§ 3. **castigasse**, 'upbraided.'

§ 4. **ad deos manes**, 'to the gods below.' The 'Di Manes' are the deified souls of the dead, usually looked upon as beneficent spirits.

§ 5. **antiquo illo**; I. 12, Mettius Curtius commanded the Sabines under Tatius.

§ 6. **cura non deesset**, 'diligence should not be wanting (i. e. I would carefully investigate the authorities), if there were any path that would lead my researches to the truth.'

standum est, 'we must rest contented with.'

derogat, 'detracts from,' 'puts out of reach.'

§ 7. **fetiales**, perhaps from 'for,' 'fari,' as 'oratores' from 'oro.' I. 32. 5, Ancus was said to have instituted these ambassadors; they were a sort of priestly guild.

primo quoque die, literally, on each first day, 'as soon as possible.' **Chap. 6.**

frequens, 'in great numbers.' Cp. 'frequens senatus' of a 'full house.'

§ 8. **in exspectatione**, *μετέωροι*, 'in a state of suspense,' 'excitement.'

suis auspiciis; that is, he would have to take the auspices before starting or before an engagement. For the stress laid on auspices cp. 6. 41. 6.

secus, 'otherwise,' i. e. badly, wrongly. Cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 428 'dis aliter visum.' For the event cp. 5. 18. 7.

§ 9. **ab insciis quem**, 'by the enemy who knew not whom they had caught.'

§ 10. **feroces**, 'inspirited,' 'insolent because of.'

irent, imperf. subj. of Oratio Obliqua = imperative.

§ 11. **plebiscito**, because of the law passed by Valerius and Horatius, consuls after the decemvirate, at the centuriata comitia, '*ut quod tributim plebes iussisset populum* teneret;' previously, there had been a dispute '*tenerenturne patres plebiscitis*:' and of this law Livy says 'tribuniciis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est,' but the legislative power of the Assembly of the Plebs was not finally and fully secured till the *lex Hortensia* of B.C. 287; probably at first their legislation depended on the approval of the senate. See The Growth of Plebeian Privilege at Rome, by J. L. Strachan Davidson, Eng. Hist. Rev. April, 1886.)

pelli honoribus: 'pelli finibus,' 6. 41. 11.

ius, *νόμιμον*; **fas**, *ὅσιον*. ius means that he had no equitable right; fas, that his exercising his power was a sin against religion.

gentium iure; the rights of families, of the 'patrician gentes,' who alone had the right of 'auspicia.' Cp. 4. 2. 5 'Colluvionem gentium, perturbationem auspiciorum publicorum privatorumque afferre,' of the 'leges de connubio' proposed by Canuleius.

§ 1. **legati**. In command of the army which had been under L. Genucius, the plebeian consul. **Chap. 7.**

res per occasionem, 'an admirable success was gained by seizing an opportunity.'

§ 2. **expugnandi spe**. Tac. Ann. 1. 67 'manendum intra vallum, donec expugnandi hostes spe propius succederent.'

res, 'the result to the Hernici was very far from their hope of . . .'

adeo explains the preceding clause, cp. 12. 4; this use of 'adeo' for introducing an important fact is common in Livy. See Excursus.

§ 3. **laudibus**, 'by praising.'

§ 4. **ad hostes** = apud, 'on the side of the enemy.'

quadringenariae, 'eight cohorts of 400 men each.'

lecta robora = λογάδες, 'picked soldiers.'

Chap. 7. § 5. **eo etiam quod**, 'filled them with hope and courage by a resolution that,' &c.

immunes, as in later times the Roman veterans were. Tac. Ann. 1. 36 'retineri sub vexillo ceterorum immunes nisi propulsandi hostis.'

unum pugnae laborem, 'reserved only for actual fighting.'

plus quam, &c., 'even beyond their usual courage.'

§ 6. **pari . . . spatio**, 'at an equal distance from each camp.'

§ 8. **effectu**, 'ineffectual in result rather than (weak) in attempt,' i. e. they charged boldly enough, but made no impression.

§ 9. **poterant**. For the indicative cp. 5. 6. 1, note.

Chap. 8. § 1. **primores**, the best soldiers, who on the Roman side belonged also to the aristocratic party; 1. 43. 8 'equitum ex primoribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias.'

communis Mars = the chances, hazards of war.

multiplex, 'the loss counted for much more' because of their position. Weissenborn quotes 21. 59. 9 'maior quam pro numero iactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot sunt interfecti.'

vulgus aliud, *ὁ ἄλλος ὄχλος*. Cp. 5. 40. 5.

§ 2. **increpantes . . . quaerendo**. This use, with many other instances, shows how the want of participles is supplied in Latin.

The clauses 'quid . . . quam . . . quid' depend on 'quaerendo.'

ex equis; cp. *ἀφ' ἵππου μάχεσθαι*.

pedites, 'on foot.'

quam tertiam, 'what third kind of fighting.'

§ 4. **tam vires pares**, 'what influence really defeated troops so well matched.'

§ 5. **Diu non perlitatum**, 'the fact that he had not favourable sacrifices for a long time,' i. e. it was long before the sacrifices gave favourable omens; for neuter participle cp. 1. 53. 1 'ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset.'

§ 6. **infrequentia**, 'scattered.'

§ 7. **ubi haud minus**, 'a loss no less serious.' (Than that of the large body of infantry.)

aliquot, 'a large number.'

Chap. 9. § 2. **ultro citroque**, 'backwards and forwards,' between Rome and Tibur.

§ 4. **dictum**, sc. esse dictatorem, 'that the dictator was appointed.'

comitia bello praeferre, 'to hold the election before the war;' cp. 39. 5. 12 'praetulit triumphi diem.'

§ 5. **leviorem**, 'less trustworthy.'

§ 6. The Via Salaria met the Via Nomentana at the Porta Collina near what were afterwards the Horti Sallustiani.

Chap. 9.

tumultus Gallici, 'the rising of the Gauls,' infra 11. 4. In 21. 16. 4 'cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum,' the word has lost its original sense of a dangerous outbreak. Weissenborn quotes Cic. Phil. 8. 1 'maiores nostri tumultum Italicum quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum nominabant. gravius autem tumultum esse quam bellum hinc intelligi potest, quod bello vocationes valent, tumultu non valent.'

§ 7. **incertis viribus**, 'as their forces were well matched.'

§ 8. **noster duorum eventus**, 'the issue between us two;' compare the phrase 'mea ipsius voluntate,' &c.

Chap. 10.

§ 1. **praecipuam**, 'the special risk,' 'the risk before any one else.'

§ 2. **vexatione tribunicia**; supra 5.

nunquam pugnaverim, 'I hope I never may fight;' for the pft. subj. cp. 6. 40. 5.

non si = ne tum quidem si (Weiss.).

3. **beluae**, 'monster,' as a barbarian and 'eximia corporis magnitudine.'

praesultat, 'dances in front of,' *προμαχίζεσθαι*.

§ 4. **Macte.** The root is said to be the same as *μακ-* in *μάκαρ*, *μακρός*. Cato R. R. has the nominative 'mactus,' applied to gods. 'Macte' is probably an adverb from 'mactus,' a participle from an old verb mago = augeo. It is generally used simply with 'esto,' but in Livy 2. 12. 14 is dependent on a verb, 'iuberem macte virtute esse.' In 36. 5 some read *macti*, as a vocative, and *macte* is sometimes so explained. In Livy it is always combined with 'virtute,' 'go on and prosper in your valour.'

§ 5. **stolide laetum**, 'senselessly exultant.' Here of the stupid joy of a barbarian, as supra 5. 6, of the feelings of one bred in the country.

§ 6. **Recipiunt se**, 'aequales T. Manlii.'

more, 'according to the rules of.'

§ 7. **auro.** Plin. 33. 1. 15 'Gallos cum auro pugnare solitos Torquatus indicio est' (Weiss.).

refulgens. Cp. Tac. Hist. 4. 29 'insignibus effulgens.'

modica species, 'a simple grace, with weapons rather useful than elegant.'

§ 8. **discrimen** = the crisis.

§ 9. **pendentibus.** Cp. Ter. Heaut. 4. 4. 5 'Clitipho cum spe pendebit animi.'

caesim, 'with the edge of his sword.' Cp. 22. 46. 5 'punctim magis quam caesim petere hostem,' of the Spaniards.

§ 10. **subrecto**; 8. 8. 10. The transitive use of 'surgere' (sub = surrigere) is found in Virg. Aen. 4. 183 'tot subrigit aures' (Weiss.).

toto corpore interior, 'with his whole body too close to be in

Chap. 10. danger of a wound.' Cp. 24. 34 'propius subibant naves quo interiores ictibus tormentorum essent.'

§ 10. **inter corpus armaque**, because he had struck up the Gaul's shield.

hausit, 'tore open,' 'gashed.' Weissenborn quotes Il. 13. 507 διὰ δ' ἔντερα χαλκὸς ἤφυσε.

spatium ingens, κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί (Weiss.).

§ 11. **uno torque**, 'only of a necklace.' Compare the other account, 6. 42. 5.

§ 13. **incondita**. Cp. 5. 49. 7 'iocos militares, quos inconditos iaciunt.'

in modum. 'In' is Madvig's emendation = almost in the rhythm (after the manner) of songs.

celebratum, 'kept up.'

§ 14. **pro contione**, 'in a public speech,' literally, before an assembly.

laudibus tulit, 'extolled,' 'praised.'

Chap. 11. § 1. **tanti momenti**, 'had such influence.'

societate belli; supra 9. 1, 2.

§ 3. **Tiburtibus ducibus**, 'under the guidance of the Tiburtes.'

§ 4. **ex auctoritate**, 'in accordance with a resolution.'

ludos magnos; 5. 19. 6 'ludos magnos ex senatus consulto vovit Veiis captis.'

§ 6. **haud procul porta Collina**. The close approach of the Gauls to the city at least shows that the defeat of Brennus thirty years previously had not checked their inroads: during this period they return as frequently as the Volsci and Aequi in other books. For the Colline Gate cp. 5. 41. 4.

in conspectu; 5. 49. 3 'in conspectu habentes fana deum et coniuges et liberos;' Tac. Germ. 7 'et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium' (Weiss.).

§ 9. **suarum quoque**, 'resigning to them the honour of his own successes.'

ovans. In the 'ovatio,' or lesser triumph, granted after an easy or bloodless victory, the imperator entered the city on horseback or on foot, not in a chariot, as when a 'triumphus' was allowed.

Fabio, dative after 'satis;' 'visum est,' i.e. senatui (Weiss.), = for Fabius the senate thought it enough.

§ 11. **ne nimis**, 'the Romans (they said) need not think it too wonderful or grand to cause a commotion at the enemy's gates.'

Chap. 12. § 2. **nocturnus pavor**, 'the alarm raised in the night,' 'night attack.'

§ 3. **conclamatum.** Cp. 6. 28. 3, the attack made by the Praenestini. **Chap. 12.**

§ 4. **adeo vix . . . sustinuere,** 'in fact they were hardly able to withstand.' For 'adeo' see Excurs. p. 27 and Index.

bono fuisse, 'was an advantage to.'

§ 6. **Etruriam adiacent**; 'adiacere' more commonly with dative.

rebus repetitis. This is the technical term for demanding satisfaction before war is declared.

ea provincia, 'this official duty,' 'duty in this district.'

evenere, used as in 7. 6. 7 of the result of a *sortitio* between the consuls, here without the addition of 'sorte.'

§ 7. **pax.** Nothing has been said before of war with the Latins; probably this refers to cementing the union, which, since the Gallic invasion, had been rather carelessly observed. So Polybius, 2. 18, has ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ Ῥωμαῖοι . . . τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Λατίνους αὖθις πράγματα συνεστήσαντο. At any rate various towns had joined the Gauls, e.g. Tibur and Praeneste; and this arrangement did not last long (Weiss.).

ex foedere vetusto, the beginning of the union between Rome and the Latins was after the battle of Lake Regillus, 2. 22, B.C. 495.

multis annis, 'in many years.' The ablative seems to mark separate occasions where the accusative would express simple duration of time.

§ 11. **neutiquam**: in Plautus and Terence often 'ne utiquam,' by no means, not in any way; utiquam = utique.

parva eadem . . . mora, 'parva mora,' 'ablative.' 'eadem,' nominative, repeating 'vis,' 'while at the same time it would fade with a slight delay.'

§ 12. **carpere** = to criticise.

communiter, 'as a class.'

§ 13. **interdiu**; supra 12, the dissatisfaction had first been shown among the 'stationes' and 'vigiliae.'

§ 14. **circulis,** 'knots of men.' Cp. Cic. Balb. 26. 57 'in conviviis rodunt, in circulis vellicant.'

principiis, 'the central space.' It was an open space measured out in front of the commander's tent ('praetorium') to which the troops could be brought when occasion required. It naturally varied in size according to the number of soldiers in camp. Tac. Ann. 1. 61 'prima Vari castra lato ambitu et dimensis principiis trium legionum manus ostentabant.' It was square, answering some of the purposes of a forum in a city, having the tribunal, the eagles, the quarters of the legates and officers.

verba faceret. Oratio Obliqua of imperative, 'let Sex. Tullius be spokesman for the army, as his merits entitled him to be.' Cp. Tac. Ann. 1. 26 'responsum est a contione mandata Clementi centurioni quae perferret.'

Chap. 13. § 1. **Septimum,** 'for the seventh time.'

primum pilum. The 'primus pilus' was the division of the 'triarii' in the Roman army. The chief centurion of this division was in later times called 'primipilus' or 'primopilus:' infra 41. 5 'primus centurio erat, quem nunc primipili appellant,' i.e. centurionem primi pili. See Note on the Army, p. 32.

tribunal, 'the platform;' from this the general addressed his soldiers or dispensed justice.

§ 3. **si licet,** a phrase of apology. Weissenborn reads *scilicet*, which he takes as referring to *miranti*, 'you must know then.'

sine armis, figurative; infra 6.

§ 4. **sicubi loco cessum:** 'if retreat from any post.' For the participle cp. supra 8, 5.

abolere flagitii memoriam. Compare the mutinous troops in Tac. Ann. 1. 49 'cupido involat eundi in hostem, piaculum furoris.'

§ 6. **et hostes,** 'on the one hand, the enemy scoff at us.'

quod aegrius, 'and this is harder to bear.'

mancorum, 'maimed.' Juv. 3. 48 'Mancus et exstinctae corpus non utile dextrae.'

§ 7. **compressis,** 'with hands folded.' **ut aiunt,** as the proverb says.

verius = aequius.

§ 8. **publicum consilium,** 'policy of state,' 'political device.' Supra 12. 12 'patres communiter increpare.'

quis tandem, &c., 'who can complain if the plebs should say that it will have its own plans as you have yours?'

§ 9. **educat . . . pugnaturos,** 'let him lead us out, and we will fight.'

§ 10. **Haec dicta sint,** 'imagine this said.'

laurea; cp. Cicero's well-known line 'concedat laurea linguae' var. lec. 'laudi'; Sueton. Tib. 17 'urbem praetextatus et laurea coronatus intravit.'

§ 11. **exceperunt,** 'the speech was seconded by.'

Chap. 14. § 1. **exemplo haud probabili,** 'by a precedent that would not be approved.'

se recepit, 'engaged,' 'promised.' Cp. Cic. Fam. 13. 72 'omnia te facturum liberalissime recepisti.'

res, 'the movement.'

§ 2. **auctoribus,** 'its leaders.'

§ 3. **nihil non,** 'personally he would not act except at the bidding.'

haberet, 'keep.'

§ 4. **Gallo,** dative after **ademerunt,** as 'concitatae multitudini subtraxisse;' supra 2.

Chap. 14.

statione, 'picket,' 'out-post.'

§ 5. **Tullii fides**: (1) confidence in Tullius; (2) the truth of what he said, his good faith.

§ 6. **ut qui**, 'feeling that.'

arte, 'stratagem.'

sollers. His stratagem was according to some historians partly reproduced at the battle of Bannockburn.

§ 7. **strata**, 'their housings,' 'saddles.'

centunculis, 'saddle-cloth;' diminutive of 'cento' = patchwork, therefore here party-coloured cloths.

agasones (ago), 'grooms.'

ornatos = equipped.

§ 8. **His fere**, 'having made about 1000 of these.'

§ 9. **adversus**, 'fronting,' 'facing.'

Chap. 15.

§ 3. **tantos stimulos**, 'such strong incentives.'

alienatis a memoria, 'totally forgetting.'

vecors. Madvig, 've;' the particle apparently means 'out,' and is used as a negative or intensive; 've-grandis,' 've-pallidus,' 'vestigo.' Cp. the German 'ver.'

avertit, as frequently = routs.

§ 5. **obliquo monte**, 'in a slanting direction down the mountain.'

§ 8. **saxo quadrato**, 'enclosed in hewn stone.' See note on 6. 4. 12.

§ 10. **ibi**: apud Tarquinienses, 'in that quarter.'

tantum cladis, 'their loss on the field was not so terrible as the fact that.' Weissenborn quotes 37. 51. 9 'non tantum gaudium attulerunt, quam . . .'

immolarunt, the regular word for sacrifices. It is sometimes used generally = to slay. Virg. Aen. 12. 949 'Pallas te hoc vulnere . . . immolat;' but the repetition, infra 19. 3, shows that it has its special sense here. For the cruelty of the Etruscans cp. Herod. 1. 167.

qua foeditate, 'by reason of this horrible punishment.'

§ 11. **duae tribus**, making the total twenty-seven; cp. 6. 5. 8.

§ 12. **de ambitu**, 'bribery:' as a general term it included all undue influence, &c. exercised at an election. One of the latest laws against 'corruption,' which was always rife at Rome, is the law passed by Cicero, and referred to Pro Murena, 32. 67. The other chief laws are the Calpurnia, Caecilia, Fabia, Iulia, Licinia. From 'ambi-eo,' a going round, canvassing.

§ 13. **novorum hominum**; supra 1. 1.

nundinas, 'the market days,' held at intervals of nine days (novem dies). Used to denote the time, place, and business of the markets.

conciliabula, 'places of public gathering,' 'market places.'

Chap. 16. § 1. **unciarium fenus.** See Orelli on Tac. Ann. 6. 16 'duodecim tabulis sancitum, ne quis unciario fenore amplius exerceret.' It is an uncia or $\frac{1}{12}$ of the principal per annum as interest, reckoned on the old year of ten months = $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., and on the twelve months = 10 per cent. ($100 \times \frac{1}{12} \times \frac{12}{10} = 10$). Nipperdey (on Tac. loc. cit.) explains it as $\frac{1}{12}$ per cent. a month = 1 per cent. per annum; but this mode of reckoning by the month was later. See Roby, Lat. Gr. I. Appendix D. It is curious that Livy should say nothing about this law of the Twelve Tables, which is quoted only by Tacitus. The difficulties encountered in the attempt to regulate the rate of interest are well illustrated in Cic. ad Att. 5. 21. 11.

§ 2. **ad** = praeter (Weiss.).

crimine, here = offence (Weiss.).

§ 3. **nihil in publicum**, contrasting with the conduct of Camillus, 5. 20. For the phrase cp. 5. 23. 10.

§ 4. **inquit** after **exclamat** is pleonastic, cp. 1. 45. 6; 8. 9. 4 (Weiss.).

navaturos, connected with 'navus' ('gnavus,' cp. 'ignavus') and *γιγνώσκω*, = to act vigorously.

§ 5. **celsi**, 'proud,' 'triumphant.'

Sex. Tullius; supra 13, 14.

§ 6. **fusum**, 'hostem.'

§ 7. **novo exemplo.** The precedent was not followed; but the fact that personal voting was necessary in Rome often made its 'comitia' only half express the feelings of the whole body of 'cives,' infra 8.

vicesima, 'five per cent.' The revenue of Rome at this time consisted of—

1. The income from public lands and buildings.
2. Indirect taxes, especially harbour-dues (portoria, Liv. 2. 9. 6).
3. The tributum, an extraordinary tax levied in time of war; this became more frequent with the regular payment of the troops after B.C. 406.
4. Special and extraordinary revenues, such as—
   (*a*) salt-monopoly.
   (*b*) vicesima libertatis (the tax here mentioned).
   (*c*) spoils of war.
   (*d*) confiscated goods and fines.

But in the later Republic the main income of the state came from the provinces in the form of taxes or rent from public land, so that it was possible to abolish the tributum in 167 B.C.

manumitterentur. The word is compounded from the actual ceremony 'per vindictam,' the liberating rod with which the freed slave was touched and sent away.

Chap. 16.

§ 8. **sevocaret**, 'summon the people (to a "comitia") apart,' i.e. away from Rome. Weissenborn quotes Cic. Mur. 7. 15 'facis ut rursus plebs in Aventinum sevocanda esse videatur.'

capite sanxerunt, 'made it a capital offence,' made a penal law involving loss of 'caput.' See 6. 4. 5, note.

nihil enim non, 'for (they said) anything in the world could be passed by soldiers who had sworn obedience to the consul.' Polyb. 6. 21 quotes the words of the oath ἦ μὴν πειθαρχήσειν καὶ ποιήσειν τὸ προσταττόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων κατὰ δύναμιν. This warning against the undue influence of the army is justified by the later history of Rome, when it had become a purely professional body. In the last century of the Republic, when the Senate was corrupt, and the 'comitia' only represented a fraction of the citizens, the situation was decided in turn by the armies of Marius, Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar; and the principate established by Augustus rested on his command of the armies of the state.

§ 9. **sua lege**; 6. 35. 5 'ne quis plus quingenta iugera agri possideret.'

emancipando; when the son ceased to be in the 'potestas' of his father he became 'sui iuris,' and could be a 'paterfamilias' in his own right. Obviously Licinius' emancipation of his son was only colourable and fraudulent.

Chap. 17.

§ 3. **Inde . . . quod**, 'from the following fact, that.'

facibus: 4. 33. 2, the Fidenates rush out; 'multitudo facibus ardentibus tota collucens, velut fanatico instincta cursu in hostem ruit.'

praelatis, 'held in front,' 'brandished.'

lymphati, 'distracted,' 'out of their senses.'

§ 4. **paventes**, 'jeered at them for being frightened like children at unreal terrors.'

§ 5. **apparatum**, 'the device.' 'Apparare' is often used of preparation for war, cp. 7. 20. 2.

increpantes, 'gibing at.'

§ 6. **ad Salinas**; cp. infra 19. 8 'circa Romanas salinas,' and 5. 45. 8.

primus de plebe dictator; B.C. 356. The 'magister equitum C. Licinius' was also 'de plebe,' 6. 39. 3.

§ 7. **ferente**, 'proposing.'

§ 8. **utraque parte**, 'on both banks of the Tiber,' with **oppressit**, &c.

§ 9. **sine auctoritate**, 'without their (formal) ratification.'

§ 10. Though the plebs had succeeded in electing men of their own rank, the patres evidently retained abundant means of interfering, and depriving them of the fruits of their success. In the interregnum the patres appointed the interreges. For the **patrum auctoritas** cp. 6. 41. 10.

Chap. 17. § 12. **aiebat**; cp. 6. 1. 10. It would be easy to make this assertion if all the laws were not published to the people but kept back by the pontifices and patres.

quodcunque, 'whatever final decision the people arrived at, that should be legal and binding.'

iussum . . . esse. The predicate here is *iussum*, 'votes too embody the command of the people,' i.e. the people expresses its will in an election as much as in assenting to a law.

Chap. 18. § 3. **Fidei.** (The consuls thought it) 'a question of their honour, not merely of their courage.'

§ 4. **quin**, 'indeed,' 'moreover.'

a patribus, 'from their fathers;' 4. 2. 4 'quam maiestatem senatus ipsi a patribus accepissent.'

§ 5. **in parte censeri.** Cic. Flacc. 32. So 'in tribu censere' (Weiss.).

obtinere, 'keep,' 'retain.'

§ 7. **quam (ut) videant**; 4. 2. 10 'potius quam paterentur,' *et saep.*

nusquam alio = for no other purpose, literally, in no other direction = ad nullam aliam rem, 4. 54. 7 (Weiss.).

§ 9. **in campum descensum**; cp. Hor. Odes 3. 1. 10:—

'Descendat in campum petitor.'

So 'in forum,' 'in comitia descendere,' and Cic. Phil. 2. 6. 15 'hodie non descendit Antonius.' Both the Forum and the Campus Martius were on low ground.

per seditiones, 'in quarrelling,' 'rioting.'

§ 10. **a parte**, 'by half the people.'

per infrequentiam, 'during their absence,' cp. 5. 2. 5. In the 'comitia centuriata' it was not necessary for all the 'centuriae' to appear, provided the necessary majority (i.e. more than half the centuries) was obtained (Weiss.)

Chap. 19. § 1. **in fidem consulis**, 'under the protection of,' 'thrown themselves on his mercy.' Cp. Cic. Phil. 6. 5. 12 'qui vos in fidem suam recepit.'

§ 2. **alioquin**, 'in other respects.' Cp. 37. 46. 6 'milites tantum, qui sequerentur currum, defuerunt: alioquin magnificus triumphus fuit.'

saevitum in; 1. 1 'Troia capta in ceteros saevitum esse Troianos.' The punishment inflicted may be compared with the decree against Mitylene (Thuc. 3. 36) and the treatment of Melos (Thuc. 5 *ad fin.*).

vulgus aliud, 'the mass of the populace.'

§ 3. **immolatis**; supra 15. 10.

§ 4. **Samnites.** While the Romans had been advancing southwards

the Samnites had been pushing north and west, and now came into contact with Rome, and made a treaty with her. **Chap. 19.**

§ 5. **nexum**, 'were entering into slavery.' The 'nexum' was the condition of a 'nexus,' a man bound for debt.

prae, 'in comparison with,' 'considering.'

§ 6. **convertere**, 'turned them to,' 'called their attention to.'

§ 7. **utroque**, 'for each district;' an advb. formed from the ablative, like quo, eo, alio.

§ 8. **litteris**, 'a despatch.'

salinas; cp. 5. 45. 8, note.

eius populi: Caerites.

§ 9. **revocatum**: because the dictator was originally appointed within the limits of the city; supra 12. 9 (Weiss.).

§ 1. **vis maior**, 'more weight,' 'more reality.' **Chap. 20.**

quam non, &c., 'how a struggle with Rome was beyond their own strength.' For *quam non* cp. 5. 9. 5.

§ 2. **pro se quisque**, 'unanimously,' 'one and all.'

§ 3. **reiecti**; 5. 22. 1 'ad senatum rem arbitrii sui reiecisset,' and 4. 7. 5. As a rule the Senate decided on peace and alliances, but here it was a question of reversing a decision of the people (Weiss.).

sacra . . . accepta; 5. 50. 3 'cum Caeretibus hospitium publice fieret, quod sacra populi Romani ac sacerdotes recepissent, beneficioque eius populi non intermissus honos deum immortalium esset.'

florentes, 'now in prosperity.'

Vestae; 5. 40. 7 'Flamen Quirinalis virginesque Vestales;' ib. 10 'virgines Caere pervexit.

cultum, 'observed, shown.'

§ 5. **Eane meritos**, 'could any one believe that those who had rendered such services.'

locata, metaphor from investing money; cp. *καταθέσθαι χάριν*.

§ 6. **agmine infesto**, 'with an invading army.'

praeter viam nihil, 'nothing but a right of way.' Compare the operations of Brasidas and his march through Thessaly, Thuc. 4. 78.

sibi, the 'legati Caeritum.'

§ 7. **deversorium**, halting-place, a place to which one turns from the road, in order to rest, lodging-place.

darent hospitio, 'let them grant Caere to the welcome shown,' i. e. forgive Caere for the sake of.

§ 8. **indutias referri**, 'it was resolved that a truce for 100 years should be registered as a decree of the Senate.' The phrase *in senatus consultum referri* is an unusual one, and the procedure is strange. As a rule, the Senate fixes terms of peace and the people confirm them: cp. 37. 55. 3 'et senatus eam pacem servandam censuit, et pauces post dies

Chap. 20. populus iussit.' For the reverse procedure cp. 30. 43. 2 'tribuni plebis ad populum tulerunt, vellent iuberentne senatum decernere, ut cum Carthaginiensibus pax fieret.' Madvig, to avoid the difficulty, conjectures 'in *aes* referri,' supposing *aes* to have been corrupted into se. For the position of Caere henceforward cp. Strabo 5. p. 220 *οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι πολιτείαν δόντες οὐκ ἐνέγραψαν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μὴ μετέχοντας τῆς ἰσονομίας εἰς τὰς δέλτους ἐξώριζον τὰς τῶν Καιρετανῶν.* The names of the 'aerarii' were put on these lists, 4. 24. 7. They lost their political independence and had to pay the taxes, &c. as ordinary citizens, but were 'cives sine suffragio,' not members of a tribe, with no rights of voting; 8. 14. 10 'civitas sine suffragio data;' Gell. 16. 13. 7 'primos municipes sine suffragii iure Caerites esse factos accepimus.'

§ 9. **aedes Apollinis**; cp. 4. 29. 7. Probably the temple was destroyed in the Gallic wars (Weiss.).

Chap. 21. § 1. **obstinato**, with infinitive, as in 9. 25. 6 'obstinatos claudere, si exercitus admoveatur.'

promiscuum, cp. 7. 17. 7.

§ 2. **Prolato**, frequentative of 'profero.' For the ablative of circumstance 'while the comitia were perpetually being adjourned' cf. 6. 37. 6, tribunis militum creandis, 'when the tribunes are elected.'

abisset. The limitation of the dictator's tenure of office was to six months (Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, book ii. chap. 1). Frequently the actual duration was much shorter, 9. 18. 13 'denos vicenosque dies quidam dictaturam (gesserunt).'

§ 3. **iactabant**, 'held out (as their pretext).'

propior, 'more nearly affecting.'

curae, 'troubles.' For this combination of political and economical grievances cp. 6. 39. 1, note, and Introduction, p. 8.

§ 4. **Rutilus**. First plebeian dictator, supra 17. 6.

§ 5. **fenebrem rem**. Tac. Ann. 6. 16 'sane vetus urbi fenebre malum, et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa.'

una, 'principally,' 'only.'

in publicam curam, 'made a matter of state policy.' Weissenborn quotes 2. 49. 1 'Veiens bellum in privatam curam versum.'

mensarii, cp. 23. 21. 6 'mensarii triumviri.' Not to be confounded with the private bankers of a later date. They are a special extraordinary commission of five members. Similar means were adopted by Tiberius in a financial crisis; cp. Tac. Ann. 6. 17 'disposito per mensas millies sestertio.'

dispensatione. The manager of the imperial treasury was called 'dispensator,' *διοικητής*; and cp. Juv. 1. 91 'dispensatore armigero.'

§ 7. **alia**, 'by their general moderation.'

impendio, 'more by disbursements at the expense of the state than by extravagance (actual loss).' **Chap. 21.**

§ 8. **nomina**, 'accounts,' 'debtors.' Seneca has the phrase 'lenta nomina non mala.'

inertia, ablative, opposed to 'facultatibus.'

aerarium, subject of 'dissolvit.'

mensis, &c. Tac. l. c. supra § 5.

ut populo, 'provided that security were previously given to the state.' Tac. l. c. 'si debitor populo in duplum praediis cavisset' = ita tamen ut.

aestimatio, 'a valuation (and sale) of their property at fair prices' = aequis pretiis aestimatione a mensariis constitutis (Weiss.).

exhausta, 'cancelled,' 'paid off.'

§ 9. **Terror vanus**, 'a false alarm.'

dictator, yet from 22. 10 it would seem that the real reason of his appointment was to stop the election of a plebeian consul (Weiss.).

§ 1. **tentatum domi**, 'the attempt in the city;' supra 8. 5 'diu non perlitatum tenuerat dictatorem.' **Chap. 22.**

§ 5. **cuius lentae**, &c., 'wearied by this as by a slow disease.'

§ 6. **dum . . . esset**, 'while there was.' The subjunctive because the clause depends on 'censum agi placuit.'

mutaverat dominos, by 'emptio' and 'venditio.' The census would include a statement of each person's property, and thus assist the assessment of 'tributum;' Tac. Ann. l. c.

§ 7. **professus**, 'declaring himself a candidate for;' cp. Sueton. Aug. 4 'profiteri se candidatum consulatus.'

§ 8. **tempore alieno**, 'at a wrong time.' Cic. Verr. 1. 5 'ad iudicium corrumpendum tempus alienum.'

rationem habituros; 3. 64. 5.

§ 9. **inceptum obtinuit**, 'gained his end.'

recuperaturi, 'wishing to regain.'

nullius honoris, 'was equal to any office no matter how distinguished.'

in partem vocari, 'to be made open to them.' 'In partem vocare aliquem' = to call upon some one to take a share.

§ 11. **eum consensum**, 'their combination to set aside the Licinian law' (Weiss.).

§ 2. **extra ordinem**, 'as a special command.' See 6. 30. 3, note. **Chap. 23.**

§ 3. **porta Capena**. Near the Circus Maximus, leading to the Via Appia. Near this was the 'lucus et fons Egeriae,' where Numa met the

Chap. 23. goddess who guided him. Juv. 3. 11 'veteres arcus madidamque Capenam.'

§ 3. **quaestores.** This was one of their duties, as guardians of the treasury. Cp. 5. 19. 8, note.

§ 4. **auctor patribus,** 'advising the senate to raise.' Weissenborn quotes 9. 4. 8 'se non fuisse auctorem senatui redimendae civitatis.'

exercitus, quod . . . subsidium; cp. Cic. Phil. 2. 22. 54 'Cn. Pompeium, quod imperii populi Romani decus ac lumen fuit.'

§ 5. **vallum ducere.** So 'ducere parietem,' 'muros,' 'fossam,' 'arcum' are used.

§ 6. **avidi ad;** 22. 21. 2 'avida in novas res' (Weiss.).

ut initura (gens), 'intending to begin.'

tegi, middle use, 'were protecting themselves.'

truci clamore; cp. 5. 37. 8 'truci cantu.'

§ 7. **muniebant,** 'were erecting the fortifications.'

pro = in front of.

intenti, 'ready (for battle).'

§ 8. **pila;** 9. 19. 7 'pilum haud paulo quam hasta vehementius ictu missuque telum' (Weiss.).

vana, 'without effect.'

librata ponderibus, 'poised,' 'well balanced.' Cp. Ov. Met. 1. 13 'pendebat in aere tellus ponderibus librata suis.' Weissenborn adds 30. 10. 13 'gravior ac pondere ipso libratior superne ictus erat.'

figerentur, 'shot home,' 'struck home.'

§ 9. **telis,** i.e. of the Romans.

inhaerentibus, sc. telis; cp. 'inhaerentia corporibus gerentes tela.'

cursu, δρόμῳ, 'at the charge.'

§ 10. **hosti,** i.e. the Romans.

dare stragem; 6. 25. 3, note. Virg. Aen. 2. 310:—

'dedit ampla ruinam
Vulcano superante domus.'

obtriti, 'crushed under foot;' Juv. 3. 260:—

'obtritum vulgi perit omne cadaver
More animae.'

Chap. 24. § 1. **moles** = task, difficulty.

§ 2. **exsuperans,** 'superior to.'

§ 3. **agitat,** 'moving,' 'passing;' absolute. Cp. Tac. Ann. 1. 50 'laeti neque procul Germani agitabant,' and Sallust.

mataris (materis), 'a Celtic pike,' Caesar, Bell. Gall. 1. 26. 3 'mataras ac tragulas subiiciebant,' also spelt 'materis,' Gk. μάδαρις

§ 4. **Iamque omissa erat,** 'was all but lost.'

§ 5. **beluas;** supra 10. 3.

supina valle: 6. 24. 3; 4. 46. 5.

§ 6. **dum stantes**, 'until they fly from you where you are.' **Chap. 24.**

§ 7. **cuneis.** Livy uses the word of the Macedonian phalanx; 32. 17. 11 'quae cuneum Macedonum (phalangem ipsi vocant) vi perrumperent.'

§ 8. **quibus . . . essent** = for they had. For the fact Weissenborn compares Tac. Germ. 30.

arcem Albanam; supra 11. 7 'Tibur sicut arcem belli Gallici petunt.' The discontent among the Latins is by these instances clearly pointed out.

§ 9. **subiicere tumulis**, 'make them force the heights.'

§ 11. **ingenti studio**, 'with great enthusiasm.'

collegam dixit; cp. 37. 47. 7 'Fulvius consul unus creatur, quum ceteri centurias non explessent; isque postero die . . . collegam dixit,' i.e. comitiis collegae rogando habitis. The phrase is peculiar: but there could not have been a co-optation by the consul.

§ 1. **mussantes.** The root is 'mu,' cp. Gk. *μυάω*, *μύω*; Virg. Aen. 11. 454:— **Chap. 25.**

'Flent maesti mussantque patres.'

§ 2. **privata**, 'degraded more by his personal ambition than by the wrong done to the state.' The 'cupiditas' is his feeling as an individual, not in his official capacity (Weiss.).

§ 3. **classibus Graecorum**; infra 26. 15, they were probably from Sicily; 5. 28. 2 'piratae Liparensium.'

ora litoris: 38. 18. 12 'alterius orae litora;' Tac. Ann. 2. 78 'vitare litorum oram.'

Laurens tractus, 'the Laurentian district.' Laurentum was a town just south of Ostia and north of Lavinium. The adjective is used by Virgil = Latina; Aen. 7. 661 'Laurentia victor . . . attigit arva.'

§ 4. **congressi cum**, 'engaging (in battle) with.' 'Congredi' is the regular word for military movements; supra 22. 4 'nusquam acie congresso hoste,' and *passim.*

dubii (utrum) se victos, &c. So 'utrum' is commonly omitted after 'incertus,' cp. 5. 28. 5.

§ 5. **lucum Ferentinae**; compare the 'concilia' of the Volsci 'ad fanum Voltumnae.' The Ferentina Aqua was a river near Alba Longa, 1. 51. 9 'Latinorum concilium advocatur . . . ad caput aquae Ferentinae.' Cp. 6. 10. 7.

imperantibus milites. Here used of a demand or requisition, with an accusative of the thing demanded and dative of the person from whom it is demanded. In this sense, the verb is also used in the passive; 40. 34. 9 'arma imperata a populo Romano.'

absisterent, 'responsum datum est ut;' the imperfect subjunctive of Oratio Obliqua = imperative.

Chap. 25. § 7. **extendere**, 'to put forth,' 'exercise all the power of their position' (as 'imperatores,' holding 'imperium').

civili, of Roman 'cives.' For other uses cp. 5. 3. 9.

§ 8. **quaternum**, &c., '4200 infantry each.' The proper complement of a legion was between 4200 and 6000 men.

§ 9. **nunc** = hodie, in our own time.

novum, 'freshly raised.' In addition to the standing armies in Germany and the provinces, and to the 'urbanae cohortes,' &c.

capit, 'contains.'

adeo, 'so fatally have we increased only in riches and extravagance, the sole objects of our energies.' Preface 12 'nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia invexere.' Weissenborn quotes 21. 7. 3 'in opes creverant;' Quint. 8. 2. 18 'in hoc malum laboratur;' Senec. de Ira 3. 41 'nihil in famam laboremus;' Stat. Theb. 5. 200 'vigilant in scelus.'

§ 11. **vel ob aliam**, 'either generally, because of his distinguished rank, which could not be put below the dictatorship,' i.e. a dictator would not be appointed to supersede one so distinguished.

cognominis. Gen. after 'omen faustum.' 'The happy omen furnished by his name (Camillus) for a Gallic war.' His name would be a reminder of his father's triumphs. See 5. 49.

arrogari, 'taken in his place,' as in the adopting of a person 'sui iuris,' the man adopted was taken into the place of a child. The word is not appropriate, as the *Dictator* was named by the *Consul*, not elected in answer to a *Rogatio* put to the people.

§ 12. **extra sortem**, 'without balloting for it;' 6. 30. 3 'provincia sine sorte, sine comparatione extra ordinem data.'

§ 13. **prohibendo**, 'preventing them from,' 'stopping their plundering.'

rapto vivere. Virg. Aen. 7. 748:—

'semperque recentes
Convectare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto.'

Chap. 26. § 1. **quatiens**, 'beating,' 'striking.'

§ 3. **numine**. Used of any outward expression of the divine will; cp. 5. 51. 4.

§ 4. **precatus**, sc. 'est.'

praepetem: as adjective = swift; substantive, 'a bird.' In the technical sense it is used of a bird of good omen; cp. Virg. Aen. 3. 361 'praepetis omina pennae.' Servius derives it either 'quia omnes aves priora petunt volantes; vel a Graeco πέτομαι, id est volo.'

§ 5. **captam sedem**. Virg. Aen. 1. 395:—

'nunc terras ordine longo
Aut capere aut captas iam despectare videntur.'

oculis ac mente, 'blinded and confused.' **Chap. 26.**

§ 7. **manipulis**: literally, a handful, bundle, e.g. of hay; Juv. 8. 153:—

'maniplos
Solvet et infundet iumentis hordea lassis.'

The Romans had a pole with a bundle of hay as a standard; hence the word is transferred to the soldiers belonging to this standard, 'companies.' See Note on the Army, p. 30.

praesentibus, present as 'aiding,' 'favouring.' Juv. 3. 18:—

'quanto praesentius esset
Numen aquae.'

catervas. Used by other writers of the loose array of barbarians as distinct from the Roman 'legio.'

§ 8. **adeo praeceperat**, 'so accurately had each army grasped the meaning of.'

§ 9. **alia multitudo**, 'the bulk of the army;' 'multitudo' is used of the Gauls, supra 24. 1.

mare superum, 'the Adriatic.'

§ 10. **aurea corona**; supra 10. 14.

§ 12. **sui**, 'his,' i.e. the dictator's.

id cognominis = id cognomen. For the genitive cp. 34. 3.

tres et viginti. It was not till later that the 'leges annales,' 40. 44. 1, settled the legal age before which a civis could not be elected consul.

renuntiavit, sc. populo, 'formally announced.'

§ 13. **nec Romanus mari**. The first admiral of the Roman fleet who defeated the Carthaginians by sea was C. Duilius, B.C. 261.

§ 15. **Maxime crediderim**, 'I should incline to believe.' For pft. subj. cp. 6. 40. 5.

ulterior Graecia, Greece Proper. The date, being about B.C. 349, coincides with the period of Philip of Macedon, and is fifty years after the Peloponnesian War, which had been followed by the struggle in which Thebes for a short time obtained the hegemony of Greece.

§ 1. **concordia**, ablative. **Chap. 27.**

ne nimis; supra 1. 7, 'as though some malignant influence were constantly at work.'

decemviris, sc. 'sacrorum.' Cp. 6. 42. 2.

§ 2. **Satricum**, 'to Satricum.'

Latini diruerant; 6. 33. 4.

Carthaginienses; first mentioned here. The treaty would probably refer to commercial matters. According to Diodorus, 16. 69, this was the first treaty between Rome and Carthage: according to Polybius, 3. 24, it was the second. See Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, book ii. ch. 7, note.

Chap. 27. § 3. **Semunciarium**, 'five per cent.' Cp. supra 16. 1, note.

ita ut, 'on condition that one-fourth should be paid down.' Cp. 'praesens pecunia.'

dispensata, 'was divided.' Supra 21. 5.

§ 4. **affecta**, 'embarrassed,' a euphemism for 'ruined.'

potior ad. Cic. Fin. 1. 4. 11 'nulla ad legendum potiora' (Weiss.).

supersessum, 'they refrained from,' 'dispensed with.'

§ 6. **priusquam fieret**, subjunctive, used here to give the reason; but Livy as a rule prefers it to the indicative with these conjunctions.

§ 7. **satis firma spe**, ablative absolute, 'finding no real protection in their walls.'

multitudinem imbellem, 'non-combatants;' 5. 40. 4.

§ 8. **ab aede Matutae**; 6. 33. 5, not burnt by the Latins.

habita, 'were reserved.'

venditis; 5. 22. 1 'libera corpora sub corona vendidit; ea sola pecunia in publicum redigitur.'

§ 9. **servorum.** In the case of Veii, the town had been stormed, not surrendered.

Chap. 28. § 3. **sine vacationibus**; in 5. 8. 2 of 'furlough,' here = exemption.

animi, 'a state of brigandage rather than of war.'

debellatum, 'the war was concluded.' Virg. Aen. 6. 854 'debellare superbos.'

§ 4. **ultro**, 'unprovoked.' See Index.

sine detrectatione, 'unhesitatingly.'

inter ipsam dimicationem. Romulus vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator in the final battle with the Sabines, 1. 12.

Iunoni Monetae; 6. 20, 13, note

damnatus voti, 'bound to fulfil this vow;' 5. 25. 4. and Virg. Aen. 5. 237 'voti reus.' Cic. Legg. 2. 16. 41 'voti sponsio, qua obligamur deo.'

§ 5. **aedium M. Manlii**; 6. 20. 13 'latum ad populum est, ne quis patricius in arce aut Capitolio habitaret.'

§ 6. **Monetae.** Ov. Fast. 6. 183:—

'Arce quoque in summa Iunoni templa Monetae
Ex voto memorant facta Camille tuo.' (Weiss.)

§ 7. **montis Albani prodigio**; 1. 31, in the reign of Tullus, 'in monte Albano lapidibus pluisse.' Cp. 22. 1. 9, for similar prodigies, 'Praeneste ardentes lapides caelo cecidisse . . . solis orbem minui visum.'

feriae, connected with root of 'fes-tus.'

§ 8. **supplicatum**, often also of thanksgiving for success; e. g. 3. 63. 5 'gemina victoria parta senatus in unum diem supplicationes decrevit. Populus . . . frequens iit supplicatum.'

§ 9. **tristia**, 'severe.' See Index. The first instance of penalties inflicted on lenders of money, probably under the law supra 16. 1.

ulla insigni, 'for no specially recorded reason.' **Chap. 28.**

§ 10. ut id actum, 'so that it might seem that this was the object (of the interregnum, to elect two patrician consuls).'

§ 1. iam hinc. Compare the opening of Book 2 'Liberi iam hinc populi Romani,' &c. **Chap. 29.**

§ 2. Pyrrhus, about B.C. 280, sixty years after the present date. The decade XI—XX in which this war was narrated is lost.

Poeni. The First Punic War began B.C. 263; Carthage was destroyed B.C. 146.

vix sustinetur. Preface 4 'ut iam magnitudine laboret sua;' but the empire lasted nearly four centuries after Livy's time.

§ 3. extrinsecus, 'from outside.'

§ 4. inopes, 'the Sidicini, in their difficulties.'

§ 5. fluentes, 'enervated.' Cp. Excurs. p. 20 and Tac. Hist. 3. 76 'duces noctu dieque fluxi.' See Cic. Tusc. 2. 22. 52; Off. 1. 30. 106.

duratis usu, 'hardened by practice.'

molem, 'brunt.'

§ 6. unde, 'over whom.'

Tifata, accusative plural, the name of the mountain ridge.

quadrato agmine, 'in regular array,' so that the army formed a parallelogram.

§ 1. petitum, supine. **Chap. 30.**

§ 2. coepta, sc. esset.

tunc, 'in that case.'

ut qui, 'because we should have remembered.'

ex aequo, 'on equal terms.'

subiecti . . . obnoxii, 'submissive and obedient.'

§ 3. conciliati, 'won.'

colamus, 'respect.'

§ 4. priores amici. See 19. 4.

ad id . . . ne. 'I do not think this fact prevents . . .' With the arguments, compare the speeches of the Corinthian and Corcyraean envoys at Athens, Thuc. 1. 32.

neque enim, 'and indeed no stipulation was made.'

§ 5. eum, subject of 'velle.'

appeteret, 'who came to you,' 'applied to you.'

§ 6. urbis amplitudine. Florus 1. 16. 6 'ipsa caput urbium Capua, quondam inter tres maximas, Romam Carthaginemque, numerata' (Weiss.).

bonis rebus vestris, 'to your prosperity.'

§ 7. ab tergo erimus. Campania was the district south of and adjoining Latium.

§ 8. spondet, 'guarantee.' continens, 'uninterrupted.'

Chap. 30. § 9. **amicorum**, &c., sc. numero, 'we Campanians must be either (in the number of) your friends or your enemies.'

§ 10. **Samnitium erimus** = we shall belong to.

§ 11. **qui**, &c., 'who while granting it (pity and assistance) beyond their strength to the entreaties of others.' Cp. Thuc. l. c.

ante omnes ipsi. Madvig adopts 'ante,' added by Buettner, 'of all persons.'

§ 12. **nefario latrocinio**; supra 29. 4 'iniusta arma.'

§ 14. **ultio irae**, 'the satisfaction of rage.'

parum fuit, 'has it been too little (to satisfy their rage)?'

§ 15. **huc**, 'to this;' cp. 'huc accedebat.'

§ 16. **rapit**; sc. 'Samnites.'

Capua; 4. 37. 1 'Vulturnum, Etruscorum urbem, quae nunc Capua est, ab Samnitibus captam.'

§ 18. **escendit**, 'does not go higher,' i. e. they do not despise a higher power like yours.

umbra; 32. 21 'sub umbra auxilii vestri latere volunt' (Weiss.).

§ 19. **vobis frequentabitur**, 'to you its population shall be dedicated.' **arabitur**, cp. infra 31. 1.

numero, 'in the place of.' Cp. 4. 4. 12 'ut hominum, ut civium numero simus.'

§ 20. **Annuite nutum**, 'grant your assent and express your sovereign will.' For 'numen' of other than gods cp. Plin. Ep. 9. 27. 1 'quantum denique numen sit historiae;' Virg. Aen. 12. 187:—

'. . . nostrum adnuerit nobis Victoria Martem;'

Livy 8. 34. 2 'dictatoris imperium pro numine semper observatum.'

§ 21. **prosequente**, of attending in procession; 5. 40 'agmen iuvenum prosequebantur in Capitolium atque in arcem.'

§ 22. **animi**, locative case.

§ 23. **ominari**, 'prognosticate.'

nusquam ullis, 'utterly annihilated.' Cp. 'nullus,' 6. 18. 8.

Chap. 31. § 1. **Summotis legatis**; cp. Thuc. 1. 79 *μεταστησάμενοι πάντας (τοὺς πρέσβεις) ἐβουλεύοντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν παρόντων.*

ad varietates annonae, 'to meet the vicissitudes of the harvest.' Weissenborn quotes Florus 1. 16. 3 'omnium non modo Italiae sed toto orbe pulcherrima Campania plaga est, nihil mollius caelo, nihil uberius solo.'

fides = loyalty to their treaty with the Samnites.

§ 2. **ita . . . ne qua**, 'only on condition of not breaking.'

§ 4. **quicquid**, 'and so, whatever we suffer, it will be your surrendered subjects who suffer.' By 'deditio' a people lost its entire independence.

§ 6. **vice**, 'at the change,' 'the vicissitudes.'

si, 'at the thought that.' **Chap. 31.**

luxuria. Virg. Georg. 2. 224 'dives Capua.'

infractos, 'crushed.'

§ 7. **fides agi**, 'to be a question of honour.'

populi Romani, 'the property of . . .'

§ 8. **memor**, neuter, with **responsum.**

exponerent; 5. 36. 9 'Legati Gallorum quum ea, sicut erant mandata, exposuissent.'

§ 9. **pro**, 'in the name of.'

§ 11. **agentibus**, 'stating.'

stantibus legatis, 'while the envoys stood there.'

concilio. The nations are the Hirpini, Caudini, Pentri, Caraceni, Frentani (Weiss.). Like the Latins and Aequians, they had common assemblies, but the federal tie was a loose one.

magistratus; 8. 39. 13 'praetores.'

§ 1. **relata**, i. e. the news of this embassy, its report brought to Rome. **Chap. 32.**

sollemni more. The customs to be observed are in 1. 32. 5. The 'fetialis' carried a blood-stained spear to the borders of the land against which war was to be declared, and in the presence of at least three 'puberes' declared war on behalf of the Roman people; and, finally, hurled the spear into their country.

§ 3. **eo** = to that district, Campania.

tam promptos, 'because of their readiness.'

nunc . . . nunc, 'first . . . afterwards.'

ferenda, when they helped the Sidicini. **accersenda**, when they invited the Romans.

§ 4. **duces.** The word implies that there was no regular commander or chief magistrate over the Samnites.

Sidicino; supra 29. 5, 7.

§ 6. **quicquid longius** = quo longius, 'the further they advanced.'

§ 7. **qualescunque**, &c., 'however brave the combatants might be, one or the other side must be conquered.'

fluentibus rebus, 'strength wasting,' supra 29. 5.

§ 8. **adversus**, 'to set against all the glories.'

annos. The date is A.U.C. 411.

§ 9. **Auruncos**; supra 28.

in mare; supra 26. 9 'Galli . . . inde Apuliam ac mare superum petierunt.'

§ 10. **quemque fretos.** Compare the Greek ἔμειναν ἐν τῇ τάξει ἕκαστος, and our phrase 'they each.'

§ 11. **audiendus**, 'if only to be heard could harangue in fine language.' i. e. if it were only a question of being heard. There is a touch of irony in the verbal 'adhortator.'

Chap. 32. § 11. **expers**, 'ignorant of' (from ex-pars).

§ 12. **disciplinam**, 'teaching.'

coitiones, 'cabals,' 'intrigues.'

hac dextra; supra 26. 12.

§ 13. **enim**, 'yes, you were;' lit. ellipse, 'you were made consul because,' &c.

patricius, the personal rank.

liberatoribus; 2. 2. 11 'collegam sibi comitiis centuriatis (Brutus) creavit P. Valerium, quo adiutore reges eiecerat.'

ista, 'your family.'

§ 14. **summum quodque decus**, 'look at all my highest honours,' more especially the consulship.

§ 15. **Publicolarum**; 2. 8. 1 'inde cognomen factum Publicolae est.'

§ 16. **eodem tenore**, 'consistently.'

colo, 'study the good of.'

§ 17. **quod instat**, 'to deal with what is before us.'

novum atque integrum, 'novum' implies that the enemy is a new one, 'integrum' that the triumph is to be complete.

Chap. 33. § 1. **familiarior**, 'on better terms with.'

haud gravate, 'without reluctance,' 'ungrudgingly.' Cp. Sall. Jug. 100 (of Marius) 'castra munire, . . . ipse circumire . . . uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labor volentibus esset.'

obeundo. The ablative of the gerund is used to describe the way in which his familiarity was shown. See Excursus, p. 23.

§ 2. **In ludo militari**. Compare the athletic contests in Xen. Exped. Cyri, book 4. 8. 25 seq.

aequales, 'men matched,' 'competitors.'

facilis, 'courteous and good-natured.'

parem, 'any match.' Hor. Sat. 1. 7. 19:—

'Rupili et Persi par pugnat, uti non
Compositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius;'

Sat. 2. 6. 44 'Threx est Gallina Syro par?'

§ 3. **pro re**, 'to suit the occasion.'

dignitatis memor. Tac. Hist. 5. 1 'comitate et adloquiis officia provocans, ac plerumque in opere, in agmine gregario militi mixtus incorrupto ducis honore' (Weiss.).

artibus, 'qualities.'

§ 5. **ut quod maxime unquam** = more than any other; cp. 5. 25. 9.

§ 6. **novae res gestae**, 'their late success.'

aequalis, 'coeval.' Supra 32. 8.

§ 9. **tumultuantes volvere turmas**, 'fruitlessly manœuvring in disorder.'

antesignanos here includes 'hastati' and 'principes,' if we suppose

both these divisions to have been already engaged. See Note on the Army, p. 31. **Chap. 33.**

§ 10. **Nostrum**, 'of us.'

Agite dum, 'Foward, then!'

§ 11. **discurrunt**, 'ride back,' 'divide.'

in mediam aciem, 'leave the way clear to attack the enemy's centre.'

cum quo, cp. 1. 1. 3.

§ 12. **memorandum**, 'fight in a manner not to be forgotten.'

obnixi, 'resolute,' 'holding their ground.'

§ 13. **circa signa**; 8. 11. 7 'et ante signa et post signa' (Weiss.).

nulladum, 'none as yet;' 3. 50. 16 'nullodum certo duce.'

§ 15. **apparuit**, 'it became clear that they were retiring.'

Samnis, nominative singular. The construction changes to historic inf.

§ 16. **prima** = imprimis, praecipue.

§ 17. **ardere**; 6. 13. 2.

§ 1. **foedatum**, 'marred.' **Chap. 34.**

cava valle pervium, 'a pass leading through a deep valley.'

§ 3. **id morae . . . quoad**, 'while the Samnites were only waiting until;' for the genitive cp. 26. 12.

demitteret, sc. Romanus consul.

imminentem, 'which commanded.'

§ 4. **animi**, locative; cp. aeger animi, felix, victus, praestans, promptus, ingens, fidens animi.

§ 5. **subiectus**, 'at our mercy,' 'exposed to our shot.'

pernicie, (pernex,) utter destruction.

§ 6. **expediet**, 'will release us,' 'bring us out.'

§ 7. **praesidio**, 'a detachment.'

§ 8. **paventibus**, 'excited.' Cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 6. 10 'pavor est utrobique molestus.' of 'admiratio' and 'cupido.' Weissenborn adds Ov. Fast. 3. 362 'sollicitae mentis speque metuque pavent.'

§ 9. **huc illuc**, 'to and fro.'

utriusque rei, 'of attacking the consul, and of stopping the manœuvre of Decius.'

§ 10. **fortunam gerendae rei**, 'had wrested from them their chance of success.'

§ 11. **oppressit**, 'came upon them (and prevented further action).'

§ 12. **opere**, 'intrenchments;' cp. 5. 19. 10, &c.

§ 13. **illa**, 'of the enemy.'

in unum conferri, 'concentrated' (Weiss.).

§ 14. **Tum vero** introduces the apodosis to 'si . . . moremur,' 'tum' meaning 'in that case;' 'we should indeed be like them, if we were to wait:' cp. 6. 14. 4.

Chap. 34. § 15. **sagulo gregali**, 'the common soldier's cloak.' Cp. 21. 4. 7 'militari sagulo opertum, humi iacentem (Hannibalem).'

manipularium, 'common soldiers,' 'men in the ranks;' cp. Tac. Ann. 1. 21.

habitu, 'in the dress of.'

Chap. 35. § 1. **tesseram**, a square tablet on which the watchword was written; here word to be sent round that they should assemble.

bucina, ablative; literally, cow-horn (bos-cano). It was regularly used for the 'vigiliae:' hence 26. 15. 6 'ut ad tertiam bucinam praesto essent.'

§ 2. **omisso**, 'without the usual applause.'

quae pars, 'we will act upon the opinion of the majority.'

eo, almost = eius. See Excursus, p. 26.

§ 4. **digni estis qui.** (1) Probably 'digni' is used absolutely (cp. 3. 35. 2), 'qui' with the subjunctive giving the reason. 'You deserve to save yourselves, seeing that you, a handful, have brought help to many, and have yourselves needed help of none.'

(2) It would be possible to take 'qui' as dependent on 'digni,' in which case the pft. must be translated. 'You deserve to be regarded as men who have,' &c.

§ 5. **captum**, sc. 'esset' or 'viderunt captum esse.'

§ 6. **ipse**, though we were so few, and his own men so numerous. The subjunctives give the reasons why the enemy is not to be feared.

oportet . . . immo, 'ought, nay must.'

§ 8. **animos**, 'courage to use them well.'

nihil reliqui fecerit, 'has left you nothing.'

§ 11. **silentio incautos**, 'either silently escaping them off their guard.'

pedibus; cp. 'pedibus ire in sententiam.'

Chap. 36. § 1. **intermissa**, 'the spaces left between the sentry posts.'

§ 2. **evaserant**, 'they had cleared.' Virg. Aen. 6. 425:—

'Evaditque celer ripam irremeabilis undae.'

offenso, 'by striking,' 'stumbling against.' Sall. Jug. 94. 1 'scuta . . . ex coriis . . . offensa quo levius streperent.'

erumperet after **ignari** (utrum).

§ 3. **quoniam non fallerent**, 'since his men were perceived.'

praepediti = impediti, 'fettered,' 'embarrassed.'

§ 5. **macte**, this is probably the right reading. Some read mac*ti*; cp. Plin. 2. 12. 9 'macti ingenio este.' See Note on 10. 4 supra.

§ 7. **tessera data**; supra 35. 1 'sending a token that they were returning safe.'

§ 9. **praetorium**, where the 'principia' or open space was.

Chap. 36.

classico. Veget. 2. 22 'classicum appellatur quod bucinatores per cornu dicunt.'

§ 10. **omnia posthabendi**, 'advising him to postpone everything.'

castellatim, 'in separate detachments,' as it were in fortresses, to guard the height occupied by Decius.

§ 12. **turbatis**, 'routing the out-posts.'

§ 13. **fugat**, 'frightens.'

absenti cessit, 'fled without seeing the enemy.'

Chap. 37.

§ 1. **aurea corona**, &c.; compare the rewards given to T. Manlius Torquatus and M. Valerius Corvus, 10. 14, and 26. 10.

opimo, 'splendid,' 'embellished with.'

§ 2. **duplici frumento**, 'double rations for ever.'

Secundum, 'following,' 'imitating.'

obsidialem (also 'obsidionalem'), for rescuing them from a blockade. Weissenborn quotes Festus, 'obsidionalis corona est quae datur imperatori ei, qui obsidione liberavit ab hostibus obsessos; ea fit ex gramine viridi fere ex eo loco decerpto, in quo erant inclusi. Quae corona magnae auctoritatis fuit: nam et P. Decio datae duae sunt: una ab exercitu universo, altera ab his qui fuerunt in praesidio obsessi.'

clamore, 'cheers.'

§ 3. **libras farris.** Compare the gifts to M. Manlius Capitolinus; 5. 47. 8.

indicem, 'proof of the general approval.'

§ 4. **fugatus**, participle, 'which had been routed.'

§ 6. **agitur**, 'is advanced;' cp. 'vineam agere,' &c.

ut quibus, &c., 'since the general crowd of baggage, cattle, and camp followers was not there.'

§ 7. **postquam . . . ibat**, 'seeing that no one advanced.'

infestis signis, 'in order of attack.'

§ 8. **colligentes**, 'inferring.'

§ 9. **complendas fossas.** Tac. Ann. 1. 68 'igitur orta die proruunt fossas, iniiciunt crates.'

scindendumque vallum. Cp. 4. 29. 3 'proruto vallo.'

§ 10. **commeatibus gravis**, 'a burden on the commissariat,' 'difficult to provide for.'

inclusus paveret, 'were cowering within their intrenchments.'

§ 12. **infrequentes**, 'with few men in them,' 'thinly guarded.'

§ 14. **indagine.** Virg. Aen. 4. 121:—

> 'Dum trepidant alae, saltusque indagine cingunt.'

'Indago,' here as elsewhere, seems to mean the process of catching wild beasts by stopping up the outlets of the woods with nets, men, dogs, &c., Conington. Cp. Tac. Agr. 37; Caesar, B. G. 8. 18 'Hostes . . .

Chap. 37. cum sibi delegissent campum . . . velut indagine hunc insidiis circumdederunt.'

§ 15. **territis constare,** 'it was not possible for them in their terror to decide.'

§ 16. **scutorum.** Compare the rings said to have been sent by Hannibal to Carthage after the battle of Cannae.

nequaquam, 'though this number was by no means killed.'

Chap. 38. § 1. **Pelignum.** The Peligni were a Sabellian tribe on the mountains to the east of the Aequians. The cause of the Latin campaign against them is unknown.

§ 2. **Italiae finibus,** 'did not stay within,' 'spread beyond.'

pondo, indecl. = pound (As) weight (literally, by weight).

§ 5. **Iam tum,** 'even in this early time.'

minime salubris, 'anything but beneficial to.'

instrumento, 'by its provision.'

per quod illi; 4. 37. 2 '(Samnites) cepere autem, prius bello fatigatis Etruscis, in societatem urbis agrorumque accepti, deinde festo die graves somno epulisque incolas veteres novi coloni nocturna caede adorti.'

§ 6. **cur . . . haberet.** Oratio Obliqua, 'why (they asked).'

§ 7. **pestilenti,** 'because of the inundations,' and cp. 5. 48. 2 'loco iacente inter tumulos castra habentes' of the Gauls in Rome.

luctari. Cp. Lucret. 2. 1160:—

'Iamque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator
Crebrius, incassum manuum cecidisse labores.'

§ 9. **differendo,** i.e. by leaving them to hope that they could put their designs into execution whenever they pleased.

§ 10. **laxamento,** 'respite,' 'indulgence.'

Chap. 39. § 1. **missionibus,** 'by discharging.'

emerita stipendia, 'saying that they had served their time.' So 'emeritus' = a veteran, exempt from service.

graves aetate, 'failing with age.' Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 4 'gravis annis miles.'

§ 2. **in commeatus,** 'on furlough.'

hibernassent, the subjunctive expresses the alleged reason.

§ 3. **fingendo moras,** 'causas morandi,' as in Virg. Aen. 4. 51 'causasque innecte morandi.'

§ 4. **ludificationis,** 'of the way in which they were being fooled.'

minime inviti, 'very gladly.'

in Campania, i.e. not at Capua but in the country.

§ 5. **quaestiones,** 'judicial inquiries,' 'examination by torture.'

crudele: cp. infra 40. 7 'crudele senatus consultum' (Weiss.).

impotens, 'unrestrained,' 'merciless.' **Chap. 39.**

§ 6. **nervos**, 'the men who were the sinews of conspiracy.'

§ 10. **electos**. So Madvig for 'ejectos' of the MSS. Weissenborn reads 'exsectos;' cp. Cic. Sest. 65. 135 'ii medentur reipublicae qui exsecant pestem.'

cui ex iniuria, 'the cause of the army frantic with their wrongs.' As Livy does not afterwards imply that the army had any real complaint, Weissenborn suggests that the reference here is to their old complaint about usury.'

§ 11. **agrum colere**, 'had a farm.'

§ 13. **quod bene verteret**, 'as an omen of success.'

facturum, 'that he would act of his own free will.'

§ 14. **nihil medium**, 'nothing to choose between.'

ubi restitaret = when he hesitated.

§ 15. **Imperator**, the mutinous soldiers salute Quinctius as imperator, just as they would salute a successful general after a battle.

exterrito, dative.

miraculo, ablative after **exterrito**, 'frightened and astonished at the sudden occurrence.'

§ 2. **tam fortes ad**. As in the civil war between Marius and Sulla, Caesar and Pompey. **fortes ad**; cp. 'ferox ad,' 'rudis ad' (Weiss.). **Chap. 40.**

ultima rabies, 'the farthest their frenzy reached.'

§ 3. **quem armorum**, 'who was tired of fighting for his country, much more so (disinclined to fight) against it.'

nedum, because a negative is implied in 'satietas teneret.' Tac. Dial. 25. 3 'etiam iisdem saeculis, nedum diversis' (Weiss.).

§ 4. **cognito** = agnito, 'recognised.'

veniam, 'their grace,' 'favour.'

de vobis . . . partae. On the analogy of 'victoria parta,' &c.; 'of winning a reconciliation, not a victory over you.'

§ 5. **hinc**, 'from the present emergency.'

nuncupanda, ('nomen-capio') always of public naming or declaring; 41. 10. 7 'secundum vota in Capitolio nuncupata.'

compotem voti, 'able to fulfil this vow.'

§ 6. **patriae vestrae**, 'on the hills of your native land.'

§ 7. **nobilitatem**, 'aristocratic birth.' Cp. 7. 32. 13.

in me severior, 'sterner towards myself.'

§ 8. **subdere spiritus**, 'could inspire pride.'

id specimen mei, 'such a proof of my capacity;' 5. 26. 10 'cognitae rebus bellicis virtutis specimen.'

patribus ferox, 'be proud towards,' 'haughty with.'

§ 9. **tribuni**, '(of me) when I was tribune;' for the construction cp. supra 9. 8 'noster duorum eventus.'

Chap. 40. § 9. **haec imperiosa**, 'this dictatorship with all its power.' The word is used here without the sense of excess which it generally has. Cp. 7. 4. 5.

§ 10. **strinxeritis**, second future; 'you shall draw the sword.'

istinc, 'from your side.'

§ 11. **inducite in animum**, &c. These imperatives are ironical, 'harbour designs such as even your ancestors of the Secession never entertained,' i. e. 'harden your hearts.'

Sacer mons: B.C. 494; 2. 32. 2.

Aventinum: B.C. 449; 3. 50. 13.

§ 12. **Coriolano**; 2. 40, &c.

crinibus passis, ('pando') 'dishevelled.'

ne destiteritis, 'do not refrain from civil war.' The prohibition, like the preceding commands, is ironical (Weiss.).

§ 14. **et ferte**, equivalent to the future, 'demand what is fair, and you shall get it.' Cp. 34. 2. 13 'date frenos et sperate' (Weiss.).

vel iniquis, 'rather must we abide by unfair terms.'

impias manus. Virg. Aen. 6. 612 :—

'quique arma secuti
Impia ;'

i.e. rebels against their country.

§ 16. **nolite velle**. Cic. Phil. 7. 8 'nolite id velle quod fieri non potest' (Weiss.).

§ 17. **qui . . . alios**, 'the senate had others ready to fight more bitterly against you.'

§ 18. **fallacibus**. Sall. Jug. 64. 5 'cupidine atque ira, pessumis consultoribus' (Weiss.).

§ 19. **Quin permittimus**? 'why do we not entrust?' Cp. Virg. Aen. 4. 99 :—

'Quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos
Exercemus?'

Chap. 41. § 2. **nihil cavere**, 'personally (he said) he made no stipulation for himself.'

semel plebi, in the first secession.

legionibus; 3. 54. 5, where the same phrase is used.

ne fraudi, 'that the secession should not cause them injury' = that there should be a complete amnesty for the secession ; cp. *μὴ μνησικακεῖν*.

§ 3. **bona venia**; 6. 40. 10 'He begged them also as citizens (Quirites) that by their good leave no one,' &c. **bona venia Quirites** would be part of his actual address.

exprobraret, 'taunt.'

§ 4. **lex sacrata**, not strictly a *lex*, but a *plebiscitum*, confirmed by an *exsecratio capitis* against any one who should violate it.

ne cuius. Probably the consuls had had the power to discharge

any soldier (and so deprive him of his 'stipendium'); so that this is a limitation of their 'imperium' (Weiss.). **Chap. 41.**

nomen deleretur, 'name be struck off.'

additumque legi; the object of this enactment is not clear. It would seem to be rather favourable to P. Salonius than not.

ubi, 'in the legion in which.'

ordinum ductor, explained in the next clause = centurio.

§ 5. **primi pili**; supra 13. 1, note.

§ 6. **novis**, 'mutinous,' 'revolutionary.' See Index.

§ 7. **suum**, 'his own.'

§ 8. **impotens**, 'shameless,' lit. 'uncontrolled.' See Index.

de stipendio equitum; 5. 7. 12 'et equiti certus numerus aeris est assignatus.' 'Tum primum equis suis merere equites coeperunt.' For the establishment of the 'centuriae equitum' see 1. 43. 8.

merebant, 'they received (earned) three times as much (as the infantry).'

§ 1. **ne . . . liceret**; cp. Tac. Ann. 6. 16 'postremo vetita versura;' Appian, B.C. 1. 54 *νόμου τινὸς παλαιοῦ διαγορεύοντος μὴ δανείζειν ἐπὶ τόκοις, ἢ ζημίαν τὸν οὕτω δανείσαντα προσοφλεῖν* (Weiss.). **Chap. 42.**

§ 2. **cautum**, 'provision was made by.'

utique liceret, 'and that it might be legal.'

ad arma consternatam, 'were excited to revolt.' A special use of 'consterno (-are);' cp. 21. 24. 2.

§ 7. **Adeo**, &c., 'simply nothing, then, is agreed upon by ancient authorities, except that there was an outbreak and that it was pacified.'

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